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## TS'ETS'AUT, AN ATHAPASCAN LANGUAGE FROM PORTLAND CANAL, BRITISH COLUMBIA

COLLECTED BY FRANZ BOAS.

ARRANGED AND ANNOTATED BY PLINY EARLE GODDARD.

The material contained in the following pages was collected in 1894. In the report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Ipswich meeting, 1895, page 555, I reported as follows:

On my second journey to British Columbia I made an effort to find members of a tribe that was reported as living on Portland Inlet, and as being slaves of 'Chief Mountain,' the chief of a Nisqa' clan. I received reports of this tribe from Mr. Duncan, and some additional data were learned from the Tsimshian. On my last trip I visited the village Kinkolith, at the mouth of Nass River, whither the tribe was said to resort at certain seasons of the year. There I found a boy named Jonathan and one young man named Timothy; later on, after a prolonged search I found an elderly man, Levi. From these three men the following information was obtained. Levi was the only one who spoke the language well, while the two young men used almost exclusively the Nisqa' in their conversations. All the ethnological and historical data were given by Levi. The language proved, as I anticipated, to be a Tinneh dialect. The tribe is called by the Nisqa' and by the Tsimshian, Ts'ets'a'ut, — those of the interior. By this name are designated all the Tinneh tribes of the interior. It does not refer to any one tribe exclusively, and corresponds to the Tlingit name Gunana'. The number of members of the tribe is reduced at present to about twelve, and only two of these continue to speak their own language correctly. The native name of the tribe is forgotten, and we must therefore continue to designate them at Ts'ets'a'ut. According to the testimony of the Nisqa' and of the Ts'ets'a'ut, the latter form a tribe different from the Lax'uyi'p (= on the prairie), who have their principal villages on the head waters of the Stikeen River. They are called Naxkyina (on the other side) by the Ts'ets'a'ut. Their town is called Gunaqa'. Levi named three closely related tribes whose languages are different though mutually intelligible: The Tahltan (Tatltan), of

Stikeen and Iskoot Rivers; the Lax'uyi'p, or Naxkyina, of the head waters of the Stikeen; and the Ts'ets'a'ut. The home of the last named tribe extended from a little north of Tcunax (Chunah) River, in the extreme north-eastern corner of Behm' Channel, eastward to Observatory Inlet, northward to the watershed of Iskoot River. About sixty years ago this tribe numbered about five hundred souls, but they were exterminated by continued attacks of the Sa'kaqoan, the Tlingit tribe of Boca de Quadra and of the Lax'uyi'p. The present generation confine their wanderings to the surroundings of Portland Inlet, north of Port Ramsden.

Unfortunately my principal informant, Levi, was exceedingly difficult to manage, and I did not succeed in making him understand that I desired to have connected sentences. Besides this the phonetics are difficult, and Levi could not be induced to speak slowly. Furthermore the work was conducted through a Nass River interpreter, to whom Levi translated his words into Nass, and who in turn translated his words to me into Chinook Jargon.

It is rather remarkable that the pronunciation of Timothy and Jonathan shows definite and consistent differences. Thus the *u* of Levi was pronounced regularly by Jonathan as *i*, a vowel which as been rendered here generally by *ə* (better *əʔ*). As I recollect it now after a lapse of nearly thirty years, the vowel is identical with the Tsimshian *ə* in a word like *nəʔn* (*nin*), which is rendered by the missionaries regularly as *nun*. A common characteristic sound of the dialect is a glottalized *t* which is

strongly affected by a posterior palatal stricture. This sound has been rendered here by  $\gamma'$ . I believe that all the sounds written as  $r$  should be interpreted as  $\gamma$ . The  $\gamma$  is pronounced farther back than the English  $g$ , although it is not velar. My rendering of the language given at that time is not as good as it might be, and there is naturally some uncertainty in my memory of the sounds.

In the vocabulary the informants are indicated by J. and T. representing Jonathan and Timothy. The words obtained from Levi are not marked, unless they were obtained in the same form from another informant. A few words were obtained from a Nass River man of Tsimshian descent named Phillip.

Franz BOAS.

The following vocabulary of Ts'est'aut<sup>1</sup> was handed me by Professor Boas some years ago with the request that I make comparisons with other Athapascan languages. For one reason or another, perhaps even without a reason, the task has been delayed until now. It cannot be claimed that the work has now been thoroughly done, for not every word has been traced and not all the available languages have been utilized. There are included in the lists below many words relating to the sea and to sea animals, equivalents for which it was useless to seek without other languages from the coast. It seems sufficient for the present purpose of determining the sound shifts to include in the comparisons a representative of

1.  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $i$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\upsilon$ , open vowels.
- o obscure vowel, e in flower.
- c English sh.
- $\gamma$  posterior palatal fricative.
- g. velar g.
- q velar k.
- $\gamma'$  anterior palatized fricative of k series.
- x velar fricative.
- l voiceless l.
- ' glottal stop.
- raised period indicates preceding sound is long.

the northern, middle, and southern branches of the Athapascan family. It was much more convenient to use for this purpose my own material as far as it served the purpose. Use was made of Carrier, abbreviated Car., since they are near neighbors to the Ts'est'aut. The source is a wordlist in ms. secured in 1922 at Bella Coola from a Carrier of the interior. Use was also made of Chippewyan (Chip.) and Beaver (Beav.). To extend the comparisons, less thorough use was made of Petitot's work. For the middle or coast branch, Hupa and Kato furnished fairly adequate material. To represent the southern division, the Franciscans' Navaho Dictionary was most convenient to consult. Occasionally Apache comparisons were added. The Jicarilla (Jic.), White Mountain (Wh. Mt.) and San Carlos (S. C.) were employed.

To these comparisons Prof. Boas added the material given by Geo. M. Dawson in the Annual Report of the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada, Vol. III, part I, pp. 208 B-213 B. These wordlists were secured by Dawson in 1887. They are from three tribes; the Tahltan (Ta.) who live on a river of the same name which flows into the Stikine; the Kaska (Ka.) who live east of the Tahltan near the headwaters of the Dease and Liard rivers; and the Tagish (Tag.), a tribe with speech mainly Tlingit, but who live in the interior on the Lewes River near Athapascans from whom they have borrowed many words.

Except for words known to Boas at the time as loan words, the vocabulary proves to be typically Athapascan, but with striking sound shifts. Whether these are mainly due to spontaneous internal change, to contacts with non-Athapascan neighbors, or whether links have disappeared which would, if we knew them, form a connection with other Athapascan languages may be left for later consideration.

The main point of interest in the phonetics of the Ts'est'aut language is the fact that a

labial series appears with a spirant labio-dental surd (*f*), a sonant or medial affricative (*bv*, *bf*, *pf*), and a glottalized affricative (*pf'*). There is also a medial stop, *b*, which so generally alternates with *m* in the various Athapascan dialects. The weight of evidence at the present time points to a change of *m* to *b*, but it is a curious fact that this shift seems to have occurred independently in far separated groups. This medial stop is not to be confused with the series mentioned above.

The comparisons printed below show conclusively that original Ath. *c* became, *f*, *j* became *f*, and original *tc'* became *pf'*. It is also clear that original *dj* became *bv*, the stop probably being medial as to sonancy. The instances of *tc* also indicate *pf'*, as might be expected.

For a proper understanding of this interesting shift it should be remembered that Chipewyan, from which many examples for comparison with the Ts'ets'aut vocabulary have been drawn, has shifted *c* to, or at least toward, *s* and *j* to *z*. Further it should be borne in mind that an original *tc* and an original prepalatal *k* have fallen together in many Athapascan languages. Hupa keeps them separate however.

In comparison with this shift to a labial series in Ts'ets'aut, the shift of *c* in Hupa and Mattole is of interest. Hupa has *c* everywhere shifted to a surd labial continuant with palatalization, written *hw* when initial and *w* preceded by a glide *u* after all vowels except *o* and *u*. In Mattole the palatalization is more prominent and the sound is better described as a labialized palatal or velar spirant. In these two languages however it is only the continuant that is shifted. There are several Athapascan verb stems with double forms ending in *tc* and *c*. An example is Kato *-atc*, *-ac*, to crawl, which in Hupa appears as *-atc*, *-auw*, only the *c* being shifted and the *tc* retained. A parallel case in Ts'ets'aut is not available, but there can

be no doubt that the whole series was shifted.

Even if the verbs containing the stem mentioned above had been recorded we should not have the needed examples for the final consonants have disappeared in Ts'ets'aut. This loss is a phonetic fact of as great importance as the shift discussed above. Unfortunately there is little to be said aside from noting the fact. It would be of the greatest interest if we could know why such a sacrifice of sounds of great value for the clear differentiation of words has occurred. The first thing to suggest itself is accent, but what do we know of that?

It is striking that the first person pronoun, *ci*, does not participate in this shift. The more so since in Hupa it has regurlaly become *hwε*, showing that at the time of the Hupa sound shift the initial was *c*. No explanation of this apparent exception is available. It may be noted however that in the most closely knit of the inseparable nouns, the vocative of terms of relationship, the first person singular has a vowel plus *s* instead of *c* followed by a vowel. That the original form was *s* instead of *c* should not be inferred from so little evidence, and such an assumption would lead to other difficulties.

There are also vowel shifts apparent in the compared vocabulary, but the discussion of these involves the whole Athapascan vowel system.

It appears from the compared words that in the place of *y* Ts'ets'aut quite uniformly has *x*. There is apparently involved here a loss of sonancy and palatal constriction making a semi-vowel a fricative. This assumes that the original sound was *y*, a semivowel.

Athapascan *c* to *f*.

*fu*, bear, Car., *sas*; Chip., *sas*; Nav., *cau*.  
*hwu'εfε daba'*, clay; Chip., *xofic*

kwuŋ'ɛfa', dirt; Chip., xoŋ'ic; Nav., hacl'ic.  
fa', fwa, sun; Car., c'a; Hupa, hwa; Kato,  
ca; Nav., ca.

## Athapascan j to f.

-fɛ, to call, ma sufɛ, "who called me"?;  
Hupa, tcuxouhwɛ, "he will call"; Nav.,  
yiji, "he named."

## Athapascan dj to bv.

ebvɛ, heart; Chip., sɛdzi'ɛ, "my heart";  
Kato, ndji, "your heart"; Jic., godjɛ',  
"his heart."

ebvɛ, lung (perhaps same as heart); Chip.,  
ɛdzɛ; Nav., adjɛ'i.

abva, hoof; perhaps Nav., bikɛtso, "cloven  
foot of deer".

abfu, kidney; Chip., ɛts'ɛsɛ;

pfwo, maggot; Nav., tc'oc.

## Athapascan tc to pf.

pfra, excrement; Chip., tsanɛ; Kato, tcwɛɛ̃;  
Nav., tca

pfuo, stick; bar. tcɛz; Beav., tcɛtc; Hupa,  
tcwɛtc.

-fɛ, to cry; isfɛ, "I am crying"; Beav.,  
nɛtcɛkɛɣa, "are you crying?"; Hupa,  
yawɛntcwu, "they cried"; Kato, tc'gɛtcɛgɛ,  
"he cried".

## Athapascan tc' to pf.

boil, apfo; Car., tc'ɛz; Nav., tc'oj

calf of leg, ap'fu; Nav., atc'oj; Hare, ɛts'oɛ.

wind, ɛmpfɛ; Chip., nɛts'i; Nav., nɛtc'i

## NOUNS

abalone shell, gunaxa'

adze, tce'gwɔ'

afternoon, xuda'xɛ; xuda'axia, j

alder', ky't, ky'e' j

alders, young, q'ayɛ'

all, ɛaya'

ankle', ɛkyagɔ'

1. Kato, k'ɛc.

2. Car., nɛkaitɛɣwat.

anus', mɛtsxalɛ'

apron, woman's, alɛɛ'

arm, aga''

arm', thy, ne'ɣa'ɔ' ɾ

armpits, aɣala'

arrow', k'a, k'a'ɔ' ɾ

ashes', sparks, soot, kwɔtɛ', k'ɔ't'ɛ'ɛ j

aunt' (father's sister), ɛbɛ'

aunt' (mother's sister), sxa'

awl', ɛtccɛ'

axe', scɔqalɛ' tsi'ɣa' j, dze'ɣa ɾ, tsiqatsɛ'ɔ' Phil-  
lip (Tlingit tsiqalɛ')

baby', dwuɛne', do'ne' ɾ

baby (just born)', du'ne' at'o'a

baby' (boy or girl), at'o'a

back (?)', alɛt'o'u' ɾ

backbone', ɛtccɛ'

bag'<sup>12</sup> (of cedarbark), ndɛ'le'

bailer, thume'ɛ'se' j

ball (cedarbark), aqi'le'

balsam tree, ga'

bark, at'ane', alɛ t'o' ɾ

basket, adɛ'le' j

basket'<sup>13</sup> (spruce root basket for water), usa'

bat, ma'f'asaqalɛ' (said to mean: stiff dress)

mɛ'f'asaqalɛ' (said to mean: stiff wings)

beads'<sup>14</sup>, (bone), ats'o'na

beads (white), ats'e'gelɛ

1. Car. batts'al; Nav., djɛtci.

2. Car., -gan; Beav., -gonɛ'; Kato, -kwanɛ.

3. Car., k'a; Chip.; k'a, Ta. 'k'ah; Ka. es-  
kâ-ah, and many other dialects.

4. Chip., k'ɛslɛzɛ

5. Beav., -bɛ', P. epoɛ, L. epoɛ.

6. Chip., θ'al.

7. Ta. tsi-tl; Ka. tsɛntl.

8. Ta, etô-né'; Tag. too-ni'-na boy.

9. Tag. is-too'-â; Ka. girl is-too'-â.

10. Car., nɛt'ak.

11. Beav., -nɛts'anne'.

12. Kato, tɛlɛ'.

13. Car., usa', a pot; Beav., tsa', dish; Nav.,  
asa', pot.

14. See under bone.

bear <sup>1</sup>, fu  
 bear (black), fo T  
 bear (cinnamon), fu destlé' T  
 bear (grizzly), xɔ L and T  
 beard, ad-γá'xa  
 beard <sup>2</sup>, a'xa  
 » thy, nda'xa T  
 beaver <sup>3</sup>, tsa'; tsaə T  
 bed, txe'nadé'  
 belly <sup>4</sup>, ε'be  
 » (thy), ne'bá'  
 belt <sup>5</sup>, se'  
 berry, a, ədzitsələ' (Nisqa' méia't)  
 berry, a red, xxa'la (Nisqa' láts)  
 berry, a red low, P'duxá' (Nisqa' mépta'lks)  
 berry, 3 leaves, tsak'wo'  
 berries, ka'se' J  
 berries, red, ts!xe'djilé'  
 birch <sup>6</sup>, ha'wuq (a Nisqa' word)  
 bird, dzu'n  
 bird, a, ts'o'xə' (Nisqa' sky'i'ek' chicken hawk)  
 bird, a, sea-, tcci ky'inabé'  
 bird <sup>7</sup>, a, tce' J (Nisqa' amgə:'iky)  
 blackberries, kase'<sup>8</sup>  
 black paint, P'iyá'  
 bladder, ak'atə'  
 blanket, P'e'əx J  
 blood <sup>8</sup>, adí'la T, adə'lá

1. Car. səs; Chip., sas; Nav., cac; Ta. shushh; Ka., sus.

2. The term for hair in a general sense is \*-ya'. The hair of the head, beard, eyebrows is indicated by specifying where it is found.

3. Ta., tshā; Ka., tsa; Chip., tsá' and many dialects.

4. Chip., -bət'; Nav., -bid; Ta., es-bét; Ka., es-pét.

5. Chip., θaθ; Car., sε; Beav., cε'; Nav., sis.

6. The Athapscan word is \*k'n'; Chip., k'i'; Car., k'ai.

7. Ta., tsí-méh; Ka., tih.

8. Chip., dɔl; Jic., dít; Ta., e-ted-luh; Ka., e-til-uh'.

blueberry, gase' J  
 blueberry bush, gase' t:ya J  
 blue jay, P'á L; P'á' J  
 bluff, tsa'ka'  
 board, tlaε  
 body <sup>1</sup>, xxi'ə  
 » thy, ne'xi'e T  
 boil <sup>2</sup>, apf'o'  
 bone <sup>3</sup>, ats'ə'na; adsxə'na T  
 boot <sup>4</sup> of marmot skin, reaching above knee, kxε  
 bottle, di'tranε  
 bow <sup>5</sup>, txxé'  
 bow string <sup>6</sup>, t'yo'  
 boy <sup>7</sup>, txxkyi'e  
 boy (just born), do'nu' utsxu'la  
 brains <sup>8</sup>, εtsi'xa'  
 branches of rivers, te'ts'ile'<sup>9</sup>  
 breast <sup>9</sup>, t'ɔ  
 breasts, ne't'ɔ T  
 breastbone, atsutxe'<sup>10</sup>  
 brother, wife's, idla' (=man's sister's husband)  
 brother, elder<sup>10</sup>, xud'e; xudi'ə; nde'ə T; hude'<sup>10</sup>  
 brother, younger<sup>11</sup>, a'tce'e; ne'tse'e T; stcce'e  
 bucket <sup>12</sup>, txo mεka ts'na'ka  
 butterfly <sup>13</sup>, gwɔ'le

1. Chip., (nε)zi'; Ta. es-hia'; Kas. es-zi'.

2. Car., t'əz; Nav., t'əj.

3. Car., ats'an; Chip., -θ'ənnε; Kato, -ts'in-  
 nε; Ta., es-tse'<sup>10</sup>; Ka., es-tsun-uh.

4. The Athapscan word for foot \*kε is used in many dialects for moccasin and sometimes for footprint.

5. Chip., iltj; Nav. atj; Ka., si-te-uh'.

6. The common Athapscan \*ʔot.

7. Nav. ackj; W. M. Ap. ickhi.

8. Chip., εθi'ya; Nav., atsiya.

9. Ta., ma-tó'-ja; Ka., es-tó'-ja.

10. Chip., -ongε; Kato, cona; Ta., es-ti-uh;  
 Ka., kut-é'-uh.

11. Chip., -tcεlε; Hupa, -kl; Nav., -tsil; Ta.,  
 es-tcít-'le; Ka., ē-tshí'ala.

12. "Water for it bring or contain".

13. M. ya-kpolé; P. korllérea.

calf of leg <sup>1</sup>, apf'u'  
 canoe, na'ta'; na'tats'e'; na'ta'ə T  
 canyon, tsəxite'ə  
 canyon, large, tsəxite'"  
 caribou <sup>2</sup>, wudze'  
 caribou skin, dzigwə't Ph.  
 cascade, txunaale'"  
 cats cradle, afaɛdlɔ'  
 cave, tsəa', tsəxə'"  
 cedar, la' J  
 cedarbark, ts'e'  
 cedar, red, tɣa'  
 cedar, yellow, atsutsə' J; ədzidzə'  
 cedar, bark of yellow, atsitse pfu'  
 cheek, ado'tsxa'  
 chest, atxə'ya T, ədjutɣə'"  
 chief, anəxa'; anəxa' T  
 child, just born, do'nu utseye'  
 children <sup>3</sup>, my, mi'x kxi'e'  
 chipmunk, ts'e'xgyet  
 clams, fresh water, no'ɔ' tsə'na; no'ə't  
 clan, icilɣə'  
 clavicle, aq'atrula'  
 claws (see nails)  
 clay <sup>4</sup>, hwul'əfə daba"  
 cloud <sup>5</sup> taa'; ta'a  
 cloud man, taa txanə'  
 cloud woman, taa' maxade'  
 goat, go'trə'"  
 coat of marmot skins, for men, often with  
 mittens attached, reaching down to the  
 thighs, ago'tsaxa  
 » for women, ataə'  
 cod, red h'ə'k (Tlingit)  
 codfish, ts'əq (Tlingit)

1. Nav., atc'oj; Hare sts'os.
2. Car., hwatdji'; Beav., mədji; Ta., ɔ-tsi'; Ka. goo-dzi'.
3. Chip., skənə.
4. Chip., xof'ic.
5. The first syllable is probably connected with the word for water (to) and the second with a , fog as found in many dialects.

cone of spruce, liesju"  
 copper, bəxə'e' dəsstlə'  
 copper ring, tɣaxo'  
 cottonwood, ts'aba"  
 country, land, nə  
 crabapple, q'ase'l; tca'x'o'dji  
 cranberries, katamə'  
 crane, tsɣə'tsu'  
 crane <sup>1</sup>, sand hill, de'le  
 cross beams on roof, te'tatsaa'  
 crow <sup>2</sup>, qa''ya J; qa'x'a  
 crown of head <sup>3</sup>, atse'd'a'  
 crutches of house, at!anaa'  
 currant bush, wild black, catxa'  
 currant, black, ts!nht'o"; ca'; ts'ntf'o'"  
 daughter, my <sup>4</sup>, istxu"  
 daughter-in-law, istsu'o  
 day <sup>5</sup>, yaka'e' J; yakxa' T  
 deaf, ts'e'kuə'  
 deer, xa'ɣa T; xwa'ga'  
 deer, male, xadz'n'ə J  
 deer, tracks of, kə'ga, kyə'e' J  
 deer, fawn of, xo'uk'a" J  
 deer young, xwaga xa'  
 den, bear's, fu a  
 devil's club (Fatsia horrida) xɔ  
 diaphragm, atcagy'i  
 dirt <sup>6</sup>, kwul'əfə'"  
 dish <sup>7</sup> of bark, ala'; tss'a'  
 dog <sup>8</sup>, tē; tē' J; tē'ə T

1. Car., dət; Chip., dət, Nav., dət.
2. Nav., ga'gə.
3. Chip., yəhit'a; Nav., atsit'a'd.
4. Hupa, xotse "his daughter"; Nav., bitsi', "his daughter".
5. Connected with the verbal stem -ka, -kan, "to dawn," common to most or all dialects.
6. Chip., xof'ic, "clay;" Nav., hač'ic.
7. Chip., 0'ai.
8. The Ath. \*kū originally meant dog or any pet, i. e. domesticated animal, the dog being the only one except when a wild animal was tamed. In many dialects the name was transferred to the horse after its introduction.



dog, young, p'e ya'a j  
 dog, female, t'o'ode' j  
 dog, my father's, e'sta te' j  
 door, k'o'dja  
 down, ka'm (Tlingit)  
 dragonfly, mεxiwuträ' (= long beak)  
 dress, atfa'  
 dress, woman's t'ɥ'a'  
 dry wood, yi'wkho'la  
 dry wood, rotten, di'stεε'  
 duck, nəsna'x t  
 eagle, txo'da'; t'oda'' j  
 ear <sup>2</sup>, εdze'ε; εdzi'ä  
     thy ear, ndze'ə t  
 ear, hole of etsi'd'a  
 ear ornament <sup>3</sup>, atsil'u'  
 egg <sup>4</sup>, εxe'le'  
 eight, txa'txatie'ə  
 eleven, to'kyada'ele'  
 elk, yεta'  
 European, q'acuwa' (= Tlingit)  
 evening, xuda'x ta t  
 evening, ɬəx'o'oxia j  
 exudation on leaf of cottonwood, ky'latsε''  
 eye <sup>5</sup>, ntɬa'ə t; ada', ada'', ada'ma'  
 eyebrows, etsɬdago'  
 eyelashes, ada'xa  
 fabulous people, a xude'le'  
 face <sup>6</sup> (thy), ne'nε t  
     face, man's <sup>7</sup> tɥε'ne'  
 fat <sup>8</sup>, εxε'

1. Wail., ts'anai, from ts'anai, "my skirt."
2. Chip., -dzɛgga; Nav., -dja'; Ta., es-thés'-botl; Ka., sus-pá'-luh.
3. The last syllable is the Ath. Pol, string.
4. Ta. é-ga-zuh'; Ka. é-ga'-zuh.
5. Chip., -naɣa; Beav., -dai'; Ta., es-tá'; Ka., es-tá'.
6. Beav., cani', "my face;" Hupa, hw:nniñ; Nav., anj.
7. Ta., -es-sné, Ka., es-ene'.
8. Car. x'ε, grease, oil.

father <sup>1</sup>, tá'ə t; tá'  
     father, thy, nəta' t  
 father's house, my i'sta kho' j  
 father-in-law, etso'  
 feather <sup>2</sup>, a'xa t  
 female bear, ak'a t'e'  
 female bear, fu' the'ε j  
 female beaver, tsá'dəx'a'a; tca daxa'a j  
 female mountain goat, aba' the'ε j  
 female grizzly bear, xo tɬa'a, xo thε, xo  
     me'tε'; xə the'ε j  
 field of grass, meadow <sup>3</sup>, tɥ'ama'  
 finger, thy, ne'lds'a'ə t  
 fingers <sup>4</sup>, a'ta ts'ə  
 fire <sup>5</sup>, khwə  
 fire drill, tuls'  
 fire place, khə data; kwə li ts'ane'dəla'  
 fire rock <sup>6</sup>, tɥ'ε  
 firewood, tobacco, kxwə  
 fish <sup>7</sup>, to'  
     » male, xide  
     » female <sup>8</sup>, e'k'o'  
 fisher <sup>9</sup>, asin', etsin''  
 fissure (in a rock), ts'ə j  
 five, ε'ada  
     » ataεε  
 flames, kwotsε'  
 flatus, dap'ε'  
 flesh <sup>10</sup>, atsxá'

1. Chip., -ta; Kato, -ta; Wh. M. A., -ta. Ta., e-té-uh; Ka., a-ta'-a; Tag., e-táh'.
2. Chip., θ'zθ; Nav., ats'os.
3. Cf., P'o, "grass."
4. Car., -la.
5. Car., kwon; Kato, kwoñ; Nav., -kų'; Ta., kōn; Ka., kun.
6. Chip., p'εt; Jic., p'ɬ, firedrill.
7. Chip., lu', white fish; Hupa, tok'; Ta., klew'-eh; Ka., hloo'-ga.
8. Car., ak'un, "fish eggs."
9. Car., tcannictco.
10. Beav., attszñ; Kato, -səñ'; Nav., atsɬ'.

flint <sup>1</sup>, do'uda'  
 flower, alada'ε  
 fly, lalya' τ  
 fog, thaa' j  
 foot <sup>2</sup>, skya"  
 foot, my, eskya  
 » thy, ne'kya" τ  
 foot of tree, ts'a tccie; ts'u xεε  
 forearm and elbow, its'e'  
 forehead <sup>3</sup>, atse'da', etseda'  
 » thy, ntsada' τ  
 four, at'onεε'ε; nt'one'i j; txaad'a' τ (error  
 for three)  
 fox <sup>4</sup>, nasta'  
 frog <sup>5</sup>, ts'alε'  
 frost on ground, du'xatrε  
 gall, εtxu'  
 garter, embroidered porcupine quill-, tsra'tci  
 ghost <sup>6</sup>, ts'ena', ts'ins'  
 giant, tsu'fa'  
 gingerroot, nεdεt' (Nisqa" ts'e'tsik's)  
 girl <sup>7</sup>, t'ε'"  
 glacier, hu'dzε'  
 glass, dina'tsrε  
 glue, t'v'  
 goose <sup>8</sup>, xa'; xa' j; da'wa'q τ  
 grandchild <sup>9</sup>, my, istca'  
 grandchildren my, istca'k'a'xidε'  
 grandfather <sup>10</sup>, stse"

grandmother <sup>1</sup>, εtso', εtssō'  
 « thy, nitso'  
 granite, tsε kawunεt'ynε  
 grass, a'tya τ  
 grave, qo  
 green wood, ts'u d'εtee  
 grey haired, tsehidiqalε  
 grouse <sup>2</sup>, d'ix kudε; de'xkodε' j  
 » blue, k'aba', k'apa dad:de'  
 gull, dade'le'; tade'le' j.  
 gun, onε o'na'  
 » my, siw'ana' j  
 » thy, neanaε, nεw'na' j  
 guts <sup>3</sup>, εts'e"  
 Haida, dekyinō' (Tlingit)  
 hail <sup>4</sup>, ilu'ts  
 hair <sup>5</sup>, t'yanε' atsexa', (man's hair)  
 » axa'  
 » of animal, a'xa' j; n'itsexa τ  
 » of armpit, aga'axa  
 halibut, tsya'la  
 haliotis, gunaxa'  
 halo, fa ma'sadatxa'  
 hand <sup>6</sup>, ata'; ala'  
 » my, esta' j  
 hand <sup>7</sup>, back of, ata t'a'  
 hand, palm of <sup>8</sup>, ala t'v'a'  
 hat <sup>9</sup>, ts'aka'  
 » ts'aka tsse'ε  
 hat of young girl, tssε'o'

1. Car., nændai, "arrowhead"; Kato, dændai.

2. Ta., es-kuh'; Ka., es-kiā'; the Ath. \*k'ε'.

3. Kato, -sznta'; Ta., es-tse'-ga; Ka., es-tsi-ge.

4. Ta., nus-tse'he; Ka., nis-tsa'.

5. Kato, tc'ahal; Hupa, tcw'al; Nav., tc'al.

6. Nav., tc'indi.

7. Beaver, at'a, "young woman", ε'tai, "girl." Ta., 'tε'-da.

8. Car., xa; Chip., xa; Kato, ka'.

9. Beav., acai (vocative); Kato, -tcā; Wai., icctaitε.

10. Chip., -tsiyε.

1. Hupa, -tcwo; Kato, -tco; Nav., -tco, all of maternal grandmother.

2. Beav., di', representing a generic Ath. name for gallinaceous birds.

3. Chip., ts'iyε; Nav., -tc'i'.

4. Kato, lo, "frost"; Nav., nloi.

5. Beav., ya'ya'; Nav., ba'ya, Ta., es-tsi-gā'; es-tse-ga'; Tag., ka-sha-hāoo.

6. Chip., -la'; Kato, -la'; Ta., es-luh', and generally in Ath.

7. Compare Chip., yst'azi, "at his back."

8. Compare Chip., bekε'a, "his soles."

9. Chip., tc'a; Nav., tc'a'.

hawk, chicken, metsot<sup>7</sup>ε' (= eats young birds)

hawk, large, fθnε'

haws, q'ala'ms (Nisqa')

head <sup>1</sup>, atse'

» (thy) ne'tse' T

» my, e'stse' J

» a, tγane' atse' (man's head)

» his own, matsε'' J

» somebody's, ma'tseadε' J

head of fire monster, khoyatsε'

headwaters of river, ma<sup>7</sup>γ'a, txu'tγ'a

heart <sup>2</sup>, εvε'' (v is bilabial); εbvε'' T; εbvε'foa'

heel, εkyatxa'

hemlock, katε'' J; gatε''

herring, xa'u (Tlingit)

hips, aa'

hole, torn, xitubəna'xa'; ne'dla

» piece missing, məxuhudja', adjuxadja'

hoof <sup>3</sup>, abva'

hoof of goat, abva' aba'

horizon <sup>4</sup>, yafva

horns, antlers <sup>5</sup>, e'tε'

house <sup>6</sup>, kho'; kxo T; kho' J

houses two, te'idε kho' J

house, double (with gable roof), kho' die'xa

houses, many, itsaadε kho' J

house, mine, ɬkxo'; ɬkxo'

» your, nəkxo'

house, inside, kho'da

house, sides of, akada'

house, forked support of framework of side <sup>1</sup>  
at'anaa'

» slanting poles of framework of side εxi'

» crosspoles of side te'latsaa'

humming bird, lū'lε' J

» twū'lε

hunger, fe<sup>7</sup>edεla'

husband, ɬts'aya'

ice <sup>2</sup>, txε; txa T

ice on lake or river, txε atxε

ice on ground, xuatxε'

instep <sup>3</sup>, εkyε'ta'

interpreter, εli'stoxohudε', (= talks two)

iron <sup>4</sup>, bε'xa' J

jacket, like shirt, reaching to thigh, aya'n

jaw <sup>5</sup>, ada'ga

jaw and beard, tγe'tγa'xa

joint, hiladzi'

kettle, k'a'a T

kidney <sup>6</sup>, abfu'

kingfisher, tcats'vlε; tcats'vlε' J

knee <sup>7</sup>, agwō'

kneepan, atshotsrε'

knife <sup>8</sup>; bε'' J; bε'go' T

» isbε'' my knife

» nibε'' thy knife

» mebε'' his knife

» dabε'' our knife

ladder, khukyεx udsenidi'a

lance for killing mountain goat, txε'

1. Chip., setθi', "my head;" Kato, osi', "its head;" Jic., yitsii, "his hair." Ta., es'tsi; Ka., es-sé'; Tag., ka-suh.

2. Chip., sədzi'ε, my heart; Kato, ndji, "your heart;" Jic., godjε', "his heart". Ta., es-tshéa'; Ka., es-tzi-ā.

3. Nav., bikεtso, "cloven foot of deer."

4. Literally "sky edge," Nav., yak'acbə; Chip. yabañyε.

5. Chip., bde; Kato, ode'; Nav., bide.

6. Car., ku, Chip. kune; Hare, k'uni. (kuni); Ka., es-kon'-a.

1. See illustration in Br. Ass. Adv. Science 1895, p. 531.

2. Car., tən; Chip., tən; Nav., tən; Ta. ten'', Ka., tun.

3. Literally "foot back."

4. Ta., pes-te-zin'; Ka., pē-zin.

5. Chip., -da, and generally in Ath.; used of lips and the bills of birds.

6. Chip., ɬts'asε, ɬtsεzε; Hare, ɬtse.

7. Beav. 'nεgwot; Kato, cqot', "my knee;" Nav., bogod, "his knee."

8. Ta. pēsh; Ka. es-pā-zuh.; Chip., bεs; Jic., bεc.

land <sup>1</sup>, world, country, nε; nεε T  
 land otter, xosta'ε J (Tlingit)  
 lake <sup>2</sup>, mme'; mε'' T  
 leaf <sup>3</sup>, at'xa'e'; at'ya'; a'tya T  
 leaf of tree, aləgə'n  
 left, xuts'ede'  
 leg, asγε'ε; asxa''; asxae T  
 leggings, x'nad'ε  
 lichens, ts'iyaqə'n (= hair)  
 lightning, une'da'  
 lips, adama''  
 liver, af'ə'q (Tlingit)  
 liver <sup>4</sup>, asrε'  
 lizard, atsuwule'  
 loins, aa'  
 loon, tuts'e'' J  
 louse <sup>5</sup>, xa'  
 love, si'd'xε'  
 low water, tε'sintxo  
 lungs <sup>6</sup>, εbve'  
 lynx, wε'ən (Nisqa''); nə'sta'ε J  
 maggot <sup>7</sup> (on salmon), pfwo  
 male, de'x'idε'  
 male deer, goat xadz'n'ε J  
 male grizzly bear, xo dεxεa'ε  
 man <sup>8</sup>, tγanε'; tγε', J; txε' T  
 man and woman, txa na aχəde' T  
 maple, kasu'lε; kasərlε' J

1. Kato, nε'; Nav., ni', and in other Ath. dialects.

2. Car., bañk'at; Beav., mūngε; Hupa, mən'k'; Ta., mēn; Ka., mēn.

3. Beav., at'an; Nav., bit'an; Ta., e-tāne'; Ka., a-tōna.

4. Chip., εdεt'; Beav., azzt'; Nav., nizit, "your liver."

5. Perhaps the word which is usually found as ya'; in Louch., it is zjie.

6. Chip., εdzε; Nav., adjei.

7. Nav., tc'oc.

8. Possibly Chip., dεnε; Nav., dεnε, and in many other dialects for man or an Athapascan speaking person. Ta., den'-e; Kas., skel-ē-nā; Tag., tah-kā'-ne.

marmot <sup>1</sup>, dədə', J; dēdi'e  
 marmot, female, hwuste't dēdi'e  
 » fat, dēdi'e ak'a'  
 » meat, dēdi'e sxa  
 » trap, xε  
 » young, yi'xk'a'  
 marten, sə'ət'ε'; sət't'ε', mst'ie'  
 marten, skin, sə t'e'sxε  
 mast, ts'e'sa ase'  
 mat of cedar bark, ga''  
 meat, a'tsxa' T, adzxa' J  
 meat, bear, fu tsxa  
 medicine, nə  
 mink, te'stzinε' (= stinking); tεsts'dε J  
 moccasins <sup>2</sup>, tsika' J; tse'qa'' T  
 » of mountain goat, kecika tsse'  
 monster, horned, adədə'  
 » asa''  
 moon <sup>3</sup>, nle' f'a (= night sun); e'lae' fua' T  
 morning <sup>4</sup>, tse'tsə'olxu'na T  
 mosquito, ts'esdja  
 » dzəsdzə' T, ts'əsdjə''  
 moss, ni'bə'la  
 mother <sup>5</sup>, idε'; εdle'ε; idε', na'  
 » thy, ne'na' T  
 » my, e'sna'e' T  
 mountain <sup>6</sup>, dze; tsə'ne' T  
 » name of a, adada'  
 mountain goat <sup>7</sup>, abva'; əbva' J  
 » » skin, abva' sxe  
 » » kid, ho'uxk'a'cu, ho'uxk'a'  
 » » buck xa'dzina aba'  
 » » female, aba the'

1. Chip. and Hare, tetie.

2. Chip., yeke, his moccasins; Jic., biki; Ta., e-tshil-e-kéh'; Ka., es-kuh'.

3. See under sun.

4. Ta., tshut-tshaw-tlunε'

5. Chip., εne, "my mother," (vocative only); Jic., bini, "his mother." Ta., e-tli; Ka., en-a'; Tag., ah-mā'.

6. Car., dzə; Nav., dzət; Ka., tsul

7. Car., asbai.

mountain sheep <sup>1</sup>, dɔbɛ'  
 mouse <sup>2</sup>, lɔ'nɛ'  
 mouth <sup>3</sup>, ne'sa'ɾ ; a'sa'' ; asa''  
 mouth of river, txo xale''  
 mud <sup>4</sup>, fɛ''  
 muscles of thigh, ats'atse''  
 muskrat <sup>5</sup>, tho'k'a''  
 nail, ala'qane''  
 nail of finger <sup>6</sup>, neŋgo'na ɾ  
 nape, ats'i'x̄a  
 navel <sup>7</sup>, ɛbɛts'ɛ'  
 neck <sup>8</sup>, ak'ɔ'  
 » ak'wɔ'  
 » thy, ne'koa'' ɾ  
 neck-ring of crabapple-twigs worn by adolescent girls, ky'ase'l  
 nephew <sup>9</sup>, sister's child, sxa  
 » sister calls brother's child, icaa'  
 nest <sup>10</sup>, aɔ'ɔ''  
 net, mɔ'na  
 net of snowshoe, atsaqa'  
 nettle, xuts'e'nɛ' j  
 » used for twine, xuts'e'əŋ  
 night <sup>11</sup>, edl'ɛ'ɛ ɾ, j ; eɫ'a''

1. Car. dɔbbi, mountain sheep; Nav., dɛbɛ, sheep.

2. Chip., dlɔnɛ ; Hupa, lɔn ; its varied meanings indicates it was originally applied to rodents generically.

3. Hupa, mɛssa, "its mouth;" Jic., biza ; Chip., dɔnnɛɔa, "person's mouth;" Ta., es-sat'a ; Ka., es-zā-de.

4. Chip., dzɔ', "mud of lake;" Kato, djɔn.

5. Beav., tɛk'ai ; Dogrib, tɛk'a.

6. Chip., dɔnnɛ laɔɔn, "person's finger nail;" Beav., cilagonɛ my finger nail ; Ta., is-lā-gun'a ; Ka., sla-kun-a'.

7. Kato, -ts'ɛk'ɛ ; Hupa, -ts'ɛɔk'.

8. Beav., mak'asi, "his throat;" Hupa, k'os ; Nav., ak'os ; Ta., es-kōs' ; Ka., es-kōs.

9. Beav., maizɛ'mɛ, "his nephews;" perhaps Nav., sizedi, "my cousin."

10. Chip., ɛt'ok ; Nav., aɫ'o'.

11. Beav., xatɫ'ɛ, "at night;" Kato, ɫ'ɛ' ; Ta., ih-klɛ-guh ; Ka., kla-klɛ-ge.

nine, ɛliad'unɛɛ'' ; ɛliɫa'xo'dunɛɛ''<sup>b</sup> (in counting at'onɛɛ'')

Niska, nakha'' j

» na'qa

Niska language, naka yidaxud'

nobody, ma'duə j

northwind, idɔ'a'tisɛbvɛ' j

northern lights (said to indicate snow), yɛ-wo'ka'

nose <sup>1</sup>, ɛtse'' ; ɾɔ'ɾse'' ; nitɛ' ɾ

nose ornament, ɛtse''

nostril <sup>2</sup>, ɛne'd'a

notch of arrow, kyɫala'

Nymphaea, no'tsxɔ'

ocean, the ɾ

oesophagus, ɛsɛ''

olachen, loya'

old man <sup>3</sup>, sa'na d-ɔ'na ɾ

» ca'n

old woman, axade' ɾxɛ''

» axɔdat'a' ɾ

one, ɛ'lie' ; ɛlitsa' ; ɛɫɛ ɾ ; ɛle'' j

other one, the, ɛliye'' j

otter, xusta', (Tlingit)

pack (load for back), naagy'i'

paddle <sup>4</sup>, ɾ'ɔ', ɾ'ɔ' j

palate, adzudaqala'

palm of (thy) hand, ne'lad'a' ɾ

paper, k'ok'

partridge, k'aba' j

pencil, anything used for writing, mak'a-xu-nūnuxki'ɛ

penis, ɛɔidɛ'

people, ɾ'anɛ' ; nts'a'dɛ

perforation of ear, ɛtse'xowutca'

pidgeon, qabakala'

1. Chip., ntsj ; Hupa, xontcuw ; Nav., atcj ; Ta., es-tshi' ; Ka., es-tsi.

2. Chip., siniyɛ, "my nostril;" Nav., anj.

3. Beav. con, "old;" Nav. sɔ, "old age."

4. Hupa, -ɾ'o.

pine, ts'ostsse'; tsəwε:ʒε'' J  
 pine, dwarf, ts'aka'  
 pipe, q'ɔtɛ'' J ; khɔ'the' ; kxwɔtɔitɛ''  
 pitch <sup>1</sup>, tsε'  
 a plant at'axaye', (Nisqa', mənε'), a purgative  
 » atso', (Nisqa', hamɔ'q), eaten  
 » q'afwa', (Nisqa', wɔsa'n)  
 point of snowshoe <sup>2</sup>, ato'  
 point of spear, to'kwa  
 pole for climbing mountains <sup>3</sup>, txε'  
 porcupine, dəts'ɔrε J  
 » de'tsəma' (= sharp quills)  
 » young, ka'leso'  
 » quills, de'tc'uɔa', de'tc'ut'uma'  
 porpoise, tce'ət (Tlingit)  
 Portland inlet, q'ana'  
 pot, q'u'lε  
 potlatch, nεε'wu  
 powder (gun), tseε'' J  
 prairie <sup>4</sup>, ɬ'ɔ'gya, J ; dudil'amε'  
 prairie chicken, k'aba gala' (= white grouse)  
 precipice, tsəhut'ε''  
 property mark, mak'axunεgyε'  
 » » carved, mak'axunεtrε'  
 pubic hair <sup>5</sup>, a'axa'  
 pupil of eye <sup>6</sup>, adafoa'  
 quartz, tsεʒfe'die'tranε'  
 rabbit <sup>7</sup>, qax J  
 raccoon, dap'ε'

1. The Ath. common form is djε'. Car. djε ; Nav., djε'.

2. Perhaps the Ath. -la, meaning the point or distal end, used as a suffix with nouns or as a postposition (preposition).

3. Beav., "təs, crutches ;" Chip., teɔ "cane ;" Hupa, tɔts ; Kato, tɔts.

4. No doubt ɬ'ɔ', grass with a suffix. Ta., 'klo'-ga.

5. Perhaps -ɬ'a from -ɬ'ε "crotch," and -ɣɔ, "hair".

6. Chip., enazɔ ; Louch., enezjen

7. The common Ath. name ; Chip., ga, Nav., ga'.

rain <sup>1</sup>, tca' ; tsa T  
 rainbow, ts'e'nakuna  
 » ts'e'nokula, (= ghost cloud)  
 raspberry, daqe'ɣa'  
 raven, qa' ; qa'' ; tse'iky'e' J  
 red, dəsdə'la T ; destɔlε'  
 red paint <sup>2</sup>, tsse  
 ribs <sup>3</sup>, atca''  
 ribs of canoe, atca'  
 ring <sup>4</sup> of crab apple branches worn on neck as amulet, ma  
 river, txoga' ; txo'gua' T  
 » water running down <sup>5</sup>, txo ts'ini'te'  
 robe, tss'ε'  
 robe, worn over shoulders, xa'tss'ε'  
 robin <sup>6</sup>, tcali' ; g'astε' J  
 roof, bark, alat'o'u  
 roots <sup>7</sup>, xa  
 rope, bark, txayε' J  
 sacrum, alaa'  
 sail, ts'e'sa'  
 salmon <sup>8</sup>, ɬεbε' ; ɬ'və' J ; ɬεmε'' T  
 » bastard sockeye q'a'wuxa'  
 » cohoes, katubε'  
 » dog, de'ila  
 » humpback, tsxa'la'  
 » sockeye, deky'a'ne  
 » spring, kya  
 » trout (steelhead), aca'n  
 salmon berry, daqala' ; da'qxale' J  
 salmon berry bush, daxale' tɣa J  
 salt, txu tsxɔ'

1. Chip., tɕɔ' ; Wail., dołkyañ, "no rain," Nav., nɬtsa' ; Ta., tshā ; Ka., tsha''.

2. Chip., tsi' ; Nav., tci, "red ocher."

3. Chip., stɕɔ ; Beav., tcoŋε' ; Kato, -kwañkε ; Nav., atsɔ.

4. There is an Ath. word meaning ring or hoop, Wh. M. Ap., bas ; Nav., bəs.

5. With the stem -li, -lin, to flow ; Car., hwenli', "river."

6. Kato, tcalni, "varied robin."

7. Car., x'ai ; Hupa, xai.

8. Ta., klew'-ch ; Ka., gēs.

sand, hwut<sup>1</sup>'ε'  
 savage, qa'sgya'  
 sea, txu tsxo<sup>2</sup>; txu tcxo<sup>3</sup>; txu tsxo<sup>4</sup> (= salt water) T  
 seal, xitsa', xets'a'' J  
 seal, young, xitsa' aya'a J.  
 sea otter, me'sts'a'  
 seven, le'id'εthate'ε  
 shag, iɔ'q, (Tlingit)  
 shaman, axo'  
 shark, q'atk<sup>5</sup> (Nisqa'' q'a't)  
 shaved head, medzeadzɔ'.  
 shoulder, εxidε'  
 shoulder blade, agadjtcdje'  
 sinew<sup>6</sup>, ets'i'ne  
     cf. bowstring, fu ts'e, "bear sinew" J  
 sister, elder, nde'dia  
     » said by brother, sa'  
 sister husband's, tsεe'di'e  
 sister's husband, wife calls —, wife's sister, ndlaxo'  
 sister, younger<sup>7</sup>, nets'' T; εde''  
 six, εhtats'ε'; εle'ta'at'sxε' T  
 skin, εts'i'le  
 skin of animal<sup>8</sup>, εs'γe'j  
     » of bear, fu sxε  
     » of bird, tci' sxε  
 skunk cabbage, at'abε'  
 sky<sup>9</sup>, yad'a'' T; ya'a  
 slate, tcε djl  
 smoke<sup>1</sup> (fire), khɔ  
 smokehole, khoxafε  
 snail, tatsa'

1. Chip., θ'ε'ε'; Car., ts'ε'ε'; Louch. tc'ε'ε'; Nav., ats'id.

2. Mon., edézé; P. de L., etiéé; L., edjiédh; Ta., es-té-juh; Ka., a-tad'-zuh.

3. Chip., -zaθ; Kato, -sxts.

4. Ta., ya-za. The common Ath. word for sky is \*ya.

5. See under fire; probably a mistake, the Ath. word is \*ht.

snake<sup>1</sup>, za, go'  
 snow<sup>2</sup>, xɔ; xɔ' T; xɔg'ya J  
 snowshoes<sup>3</sup>, es'a'' J  
     » round, nao'l, (Nisqa'', Tlingit)  
 snowshoe, fastening of to foot, ee'  
 snow and grease mixed, eaten, nga'  
 sole of foot, εky:ly'a'  
 soot<sup>4</sup>, ashes, sparks, kwɔle'  
 son, my, istcu'u  
 son-in-law, εbe'  
 soul, mεxralε'  
 source of river, ga.  
 south wind, tsha'e e'd'γatsε'bv'ε' J.  
 sparks, kwɔle'  
 spawn of salmon<sup>5</sup>, exk'wo'  
 spirit of medicine men, εtex', hufε'  
 spoon<sup>6</sup>, luca'  
 spoon, horn, tcəca' luca'  
 spoon, table, pε luca'  
 spring of water, go'unε  
 spruce, tsəwεxε'' J.; ts' oaxe'  
 squirrel<sup>7</sup>, dli'ya  
 star<sup>8</sup>; srɔ; sxɔ; sxa' T  
 star, white, sxɔ q'alε'  
 star shooting, sro pfra (= star excrement)  
 stars, many shooting, srɔ pfra nde'le'  
 stench, de'ts'e'  
 stick<sup>9</sup> pfuo'  
 sticks, for drying meat over fire, sa'a

1. Hupa, qo, "worm."

2. Chip., yaθ; Hare, jya'; Louch, zjiów; Kato, yas; Nav., yas, zas; Ta., zus; Ka., zus.

3. Perhaps "my snowshoe;" Chip., aix; Car., aix.

4. Chip., k'εslεzε, "ashes;" Beav., xodlic, "ashes."

5. Car., ak'un; cf. Nav., bok'y, the seeds or pits of fruits.

6. Chip., tus.

7. Chip., dliye.

8. Chip., θxn'; Beav., san'; Hare fwq; Wai. san'kyo, "star large;" Nav., sq', Ta., suhm; Ka., sun.

9. See under wood.

stomach <sup>1</sup>, εbe'  
 storm, ibvɔ' xa'ex' tsha'e J  
 stone <sup>2</sup>, tse', tssε; tshε' T; tsha T  
   stone, my, istse'  
   stones, our, daxo' ta εxε'oda tse''  
   » two, le'ida tsha T; le'id'a tse'  
 store, kho' xstrε ukxε'  
 stump of tree, atcūgu'  
 summer <sup>3</sup>, tza'ne T  
 sun <sup>4</sup>, fa'; yaka e'fa''; f'wa; yaqa'e loa' T  
 swan, da'qayε' J; taqayε'  
 sweat-house, tsakunε'  
 swallow, yet'o'lns, (flying high up)  
 tail of fish, lutce'  
 tail of quadruped <sup>5</sup>, bird, atce'  
 talker, hoxunde'  
 Taltan, talta'n  
 temples, atse:k'a'  
 ten, lōky'ada'; la'ngy'adε' T  
 thief, aneidle'nā; anae'  
 thigh, asxε''  
 thimble berry, kase'' didōle'  
 three <sup>6</sup>, txa'adε' J; txadε'd'ε'  
 thirty, txadε logy'adε'  
 throat, asu'la, εsu'le'  
 thumb <sup>7</sup>, ne'fatsxa T  
 thunder, une'; u.ne'i' T  
 thwart of canoe, nts'a  
 tin, nasaa' J  
   » vessel na'səa.'  
 tinder, ts'aε'  
 Tlingit (Laxse'el), txutyε'e, (= town on  
 water)  
   » tho'd'e'' J; t'hotyε'

1. Chip., εbut', "my belly"; Hupa, xomut, "his stomach"; Nav., abid, "belly."
2. The common Ath. word for stone.
3. Perhaps Car. cūn; Nav., cī.
4. Car. c'a; Hupa, hwa; Kato, ca; Nav., ca, but in compounds only; Ta., tshā; Ka., sā.
5. Hupa, -kε; Nav., -tse'.
6. Car., tak'ic; Kato, tak'; Nav., ta.
7. Ta., slus-tshō; Ka., slas-tshō.

tobacco, kho (fire) J; qɔ'' T  
 tobacco, firewood, kxwɔ  
 to-day, ado' T  
 toes, skya tso'; ek'y'a tsɔ' ne'kya ds'ɔ'' (thy) T  
 to-morrow, tcatca'lε; tsatsa'' T  
 tongs, tsu'wulyε'  
 tongue, adzusa'; atsusa; ntsusa; atsu'sa; ntsu'-  
   sa  
 tooth <sup>1</sup>, ε'xo'; ni'xo' T  
 top of mountain, dzsła'  
   » of tree, mala''<sup>2</sup>; ts'ula'  
 town, eli xidaa'; xwat'e'n  
 tracks of bear, fu kyε'ε' J  
   » of beaver <sup>3</sup>, tsa kyε'ε' J  
 trader, o'kyena'  
 trail <sup>4</sup>, atxā'na J  
 trap for marmots (see Br. Ass. for the Adv. of  
 Science 1895, p. 533).  
 post of trap (1) εx'e'a  
 stepping board, εfe''te'  
 release, stick (3) etsixā'  
 loop holding release stick, mīky' itsdu'stce'  
 deadfall (2) ky'i'kyε'  
 fastening of release to post, dicide''to'  
 trap is set, xedifi'stra  
 stones for weighting deadfall, εliaa'  
 stones on sides for hiding trap, tludzia'  
 moss for covering stones, ank'anaa'  
 long stone on end of deadfall, da't'a'  
 moss covering of stepping board, εfe''tskysaa'  
 tree <sup>5</sup>, ts'ɔ'' T  
 tree, butt of, ts'u xε', ts'u xā, ts'u tcci'  
   » ts'u?  
 trousers, man's or woman's, ek'ayε'

1. Chip., donnεwu', person's tooth; Kato, kεwo', her teeth; Nav., cowho'', my teeth; Ta es-gooh'; Ka es-ēyuh'.
2. Probably "its top".
3. Chip., kεγε, "track"; Kato, kwε; Jic. -kε'.
4. Chip., εtānne; Hupa, tūn; Nav., atn.
5. Chip., ts'u, "spruce"; Beav., ts'o, "spruce"; Ka., tsoo "tree."



trout, tāsdz; tastsae T tāsdzε''; ta'stsε''  
 Tsimshian, tsərəse'' J; ts'o'ce.'  
 twenty, l'it'sho'gyadε'  
 twins, du'ni li'd'ε nini'a'  
 two, le'id'a; le'id'ε T J  
 two beavers, le'ida tsa' T  
 testicles, e'xele'  
 urine, sour used for washing, kulε'  
 valley, maga xaxo'  
 view, εts'in  
 village, neky nawatie''  
 virgin, ta'da', t'ε ta'da'  
 vulva, εdju'  
 war, liε''ka  
 wasp, tsra'ma''  
 water, txwɔ; txo'; tho' J; thū J; txɔ T  
 waves, tho. k'ɔ'ɔ tsadε' (many-)  
 weasel, ne'ba'; ne'ba'; dzu.'  
 wergelt, hwaga-idla'  
 wet, all, tsaɔ'  
 whale, ia'e  
 wife, ɛkadle'e''  
 willow, gafa.'' ; tete:ca'  
 wind, e'bvε' mpfε'  
 wind, north, ts'e'ba mpfε'; ini'tsale' mpfε'  
 wind, south and west, ina'ntse' mpfε'  
 window, looking glass, de'nats'ε'  
 wing, ma't'a T  
 winter, xutse'' J; xo'e'gy'ε' T; xɔ'' (=s now) T  
 wolf, axa'; axoa; εxae; axa'a J; εxa'' T  
 wolf, male, axa de'xide'  
 » female, axa me'tε'

1. Chip., e'γεε; e'γε; Louch., a'γwo.

2. Nav., djoc.

3. Kato, tsəsna, "yellow jacket."

4. Ta., tsoo; Ka., too. The Ath. word for water is usually to, sometimes tu according to vowel shifts in the dialects.

5. Chip., nits'i; Nav., ntc'i'; Ta., it-tsi'; Ka., it-si.

6. Chip., t'a'ε, and generally in Ath. for plume.

7. Car., xai; Chip., xai; Kato, kai; Jic., xai; Ta., ih-ha-yeh; Ka., hat'-ya.

wolverine, atsi'nɔ.'' J  
 woman, a'ade'; axade' T  
 womb, εtss'e'  
 wood, pfɔ T; te'o'tce.'' J  
 world, nε  
 worm, gou ky'inadu'o (= little snake)  
 wren, εky'ε'tsadε  
 yesterday, idza'γia  
 » ntca'ky'ε'  
 yew wood for bow, e'ixidelε'  
 young man, tsu'to

#### TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

brother, younger, atce'e atce'e; your, ne'tse'e T  
 brother, elder, xudi'e; nde'e T  
 brother, wife's, idla'  
 father, thy, nɔta' T  
 grandchild, my, istca'  
 grandfather, εtse''  
 grandmother, εtso'; εtss'o'  
 nephew, sisters's child, sxa  
 » ; sister calls brothers child'o, icaa'  
 sister's husband, woman calls, ndlaxo'  
 sister, husband's tse'di'e  
 sister, younger, netε'' T; εδε''

1. Ta. e-ga-tēn'; Ka. is-tshi-yong; Tag. ug-uh-tē-na.

2. Car., tcaz; Beav., tcate; Hupa, tcwite; Ka., tsutz.

3. Chip., ni'; Beav., nɔn; Hupa, nun; Kato, ne'; Nav., ni'.

4. Chip., -tcsle; Hupa, -kl; Nav., -tsil.

5. Chip., -oŋε; Kato, cona.

6. Chip., -ta; Kato, -ta; Wh. Mt. Ap., -ta.

7. Chip., -tθoyε; Hupa, -tsoi; Nav., -tsoi.

8. Chip., -tsiye.

9. Hupa, -tcwo; Kato, -tco; Nav., -tco, all of maternal grandmother.

10. Beav., maizε'mε, "his nephews"; perhaps Nav., sizedi, "my cousin".

sister, elder, ndedia  
 » said by brother sa'  
 son, my, istcu'u  
 ɛdɛtɛx ɛ'dzela, oh my son! she cries when he falls down  
 mother' idɛ'; ɛdle'ɛ, na'  
 ne'na di'a your (singular) mother where is?  
 adle ada' that is my mother  
 my daughter<sup>2</sup>, istxu''  
 sister's son, woman calls, istcu'u  
 sister's daughter, woman calls, istxu''  
 brother's child<sup>3</sup>, man calls, istsu'o  
 daughter-in-law, istsu'o  
 sister's child, man calls, icatra'  
 father's brother<sup>4</sup>, atha'  
 mother's brother<sup>5</sup>, aga'  
 son-in-law, ɛba  
 wife, ɛxkadl'e'

## PLACE NAMES

(See British Association for the Advancement of Science, Ipswich Meeting, 1895, p. 526).

abɔtsɔxa', (where they get mountain goats)  
 acugo'ixa', (where little trees grow)  
 aɫamatse't'ar'ɛ'ga'  
 atxiɛ', (our trail)  
 atxatxaga'  
 atcone'  
 de'lak'y'e', (dog salmon)  
 gunaxɛ'', town of the Lax'uy'ip

The dialect of this village differs somewhat

1. Chip., nɔ, "your mother;" Kato, snan, "my mother" (vocative). Jic., bini, "his mother."

2. Beav., netus, "his daughter."

3. Cf., Beav., catcuwɛ, "my child."

4. Car., atai, boy or girl calls father's brother.

5. Car., ak'ai, boy calls mother's brother or sister.

from the Ts'ɔts'au't. The latter were considered slaves of the Gunaxɛ''.

gwe'n  
 isqo't, Iskoot River  
 k'ayinte'  
 k'axane'  
 ky'e'tso'qa  
 tu'taolaga', (salmon)  
 ʔ'o'das'e  
 ʔ'o'aga  
 ʔoa'galega'  
 ʔade'udre'  
 ʔade'utsɛ'  
 ma'atre'ga'  
 naʔanaxa', (canoe)  
 ne'kye'hudja', name of a lake  
 nugufega'  
 q'ana'  
 tsakanate', (where water runs over)  
 tɛɫiega'  
 tɛnɛnia'aga', natural bridge on uper Tcunax river)  
 tcu'nax, on Behm Channel  
 codo'nga'  
 sine'ga'  
 xaxoga', little stream  
 xɛ'ɫ, an upper fork of Tcu'nax  
 xɛ'ga, an upper fork of Tcu'nax  
 xihiqɛwutxɛ', long stream  
 xugamau- tsiclaq e'ga'

## NAMES OF PEOPLE

can, name of Jonathan  
 drentsɛɫɛ', name of Levi  
 nadze', Matthias  
 tɛɫkyatsa'  
 tsatso'  
 tsatso na', Tsatso's mother  
 tsatso ta', Tsatso's father  
 xalo', Timothy's name  
 gwaya'

alaɔ'dze', name of a woman  
 celgwe'uk, Eve's name  
 naxky'na, tribe speaking Lax'uy'p language  
 trekyaxundede'belá Ts'əts'a'ut language (?)

## VERBS

to be afraid 'dze,  
 ni'sdze, I am afraid  
 nrexi' ni'sdze, I am afraid

## Present

ne'sdze'', I am afraid j  
 nindje'ija, art thou afraid ? j  
 nedje'', he is afraid j  
 ita da'nedje'', we two are afraid j  
 da'nidje, we are afraid j  
 danadje'ya, are ye afraid ? j  
 da'nedje'', they are afraid j

## Past

me'xine'sdje'', I was afraid j  
 me'xine'ndje'ya, wert thou afraid ? j  
 me'xine'dje'', he was afraid  
 məxa'ne'dje'', we were afraid  
 məxa'nadje'ya, were ye afraid ?  
 məxa'nedje'', they were afraid

## Future

me'xinəsdze'', I shall be afraid  
 nnezimxinərdje'ya, art thou going to be afraid ?  
 məxinodje'', he is going to be afraid  
 məxa'no'dze'' we are going to be afraid  
 məxa'xino'dze'' are ye going to be afraid ?  
 alive, de'dji  
 ado'nadle'', alive(?)  
 to be angry <sup>2</sup> -ts'ε,

ists'ε, i'stc'ε, I am angry  
 ints'ε'ya, art thou angry ?  
 dai'ts'ε' we are angry  
 datc'ε, we are angry  
 to be ashamed, ' -xa  
 o'ca', I am ashamed  
 o'nxa', thou art ashamed  
 o'xa'ka, he is ashamed  
 da'o'xa, we are ashamed  
 daaxa, you are ashamed  
 dao'xa', they are ashamed  
 o'ca kada'na, I was ashamed  
 matuo'xa', they are ashamed of each other  
 (expressing avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law)

to be asleep -r'a,

ne'nt'ε'ya, are you asleep?

to awake <sup>2</sup>, -tsrε

tc'inurs', I am awake

tca'nustrε nao'sdja, I am awake, I will soon get up

tc'a'nodje'', awake !

Cf. ne'ənda, awake (get up)

na'adεndε, awake, she said

to bail water

tñu i'se, I bail out, or bail out!

to be, -r'e, -d'ε<sup>3</sup>

Abel ad'ε', it is Abel

nukho'at'ε'xa, it is your house

ts'a'a nest'ε'', I am a Ts'əts'a'ut j

ts'a'nd'ε'ya, art thou a Ts'əts'a'ut ? j

maxe'ad'ε', whose trap is it ?

mana'ya ad'ε'a, is that his mother ?

εdle'manalat'ε', that is my mother

ma'anant'ε', what is thy name ?

1. Possibly connected with Kato kanotyán, she was ashamed.

2. Chip., tc'ezzínðsthwu, when he woke up ; Hupa, tc'ənsit, he woke up ; Kato, tc'ə'sat, wake up ; Nav., ts'aensdzid, I wake up.

3. Chip., ant'ehik'ε, it was ; Hupa, ant'ε, how he appeared ; Kato, act'ε, I am ; Jic., ci'at'ε'', my nature.

1. Chip. neldjət', he is afraid ; Hupa, yunəlgət, he was afraid ; Nav., yinaldzit, he was afraid.

2. Chip., hiltc'et'a, because he was angry ; Kato, tc'əngantc'ε, he is angry ; Hupa, takl'kyu, personal name of a man of harsh temper.

le'bae tretsni'ad'ε', Levi is my name  
 ani'st'ε', my name = "I am"  
 to be  
 εlie ts'a isle'" that is my dog  
 menatse', it is a net  
 bgɔ'tse', it is a knife  
 to be none,  
 aba tsra dɔbε', there is no mountain goat meat  
 ε'ste' dɔba, I have no dog  
 thu dɔbε', there is no water  
 to bite, -gye  
 le' no'gy'e'igyε, the dog is going to bite thee  
 le' so'gy'e, the dog is going to bite me  
 le' o'gy'e'igyε, the dog is going to bite him  
 le' daxa'gy'e, the dog is going to bite us  
 le' daxo'g'e'gyε, the dog is going to bite you  
 le' se'gy'e', the dog has bitten me  
 le ne'gy'e', the dog has bitten thee  
 yεk'e(?), to bite  
 to be blind, ada dɔbε' (ada eye, dɔbε, to lack);  
 adā'du'j  
 isda' dɔbε', my eyes are not  
 nda dɔbε ninε', your eyes are not yours?  
 mda dɔbε'a, his eyes are not?  
 dada' dɔbε tεxo', our eyes are not  
 dadɔ' dɔbεya, are you (plu.) blind?  
 madaxuyaf'e'" he is blind  
 madaxuyaf'e'ma adat'ie'"ma, they are blind  
 to boil, tcā, -ts'ā  
 hɔwutce'la, the water is boiling  
 thu xilixuats'ε'le, water is boiling  
 adzxa si de'skaha', meat I boil  
 to break with fingers -ce,  
 lo'uce', I break it with fingers  
 le'ice', to break  
 to break with hammer ʔ -xε,  
 teo'nxε, break it with hammer T  
 Cf. le'txo', I break it  
 lɔnε'nxε; break it T  
 lo'tc'ina', it will break

1. Compare Chip. nadiyεz, she broke it, and Kato tc'ganyic, he broke it.

le'ise, I break it (?), see to break with fingers  
 i'kyinitxɔ', to break to pieces  
 to break with teeth ʔ, -a  
 le'h'a', I break it with teeth  
 tɔn'a, break it with thy teeth ! T  
 to breathe ʔ -dziε,  
 dεdzi'ɔ, breathing  
 to burn ʔ -la,  
 skada'la', I have burnt myself  
 ε'sta gada'la', I have burnt my hand  
 i'la'de'γis la g'a'dala, I burnt both hands  
 i'la'de'γis kyε g'a'dala, I burnt both feet  
 to burn, intransitive, -xo, -xuo  
 khɔ de'xu'o, the fire is burning  
 khu dεxo, the house is burning  
 kho'litsa dipe'xγula, one house is all burnt  
 to call (by name), to cry, ʔ -fε,  
 ma sufε', who called me?  
 of a canoe, to move ʔ  
 tide'kyhi', to ascend river in canoe  
 nde'kyhi', to go down river in canoe  
 position of canoe  
 xi'tsedakyε', canoe lies on land or water  
 nala takyε', canoe is coming T  
 ladu'ky:na', to go towards shore in a canoe  
 nala nakyε', na'ana'kya, canoe is coming  
 nala tsatəna'ɔ, canoes are coming  
 mata'sεmagy'e'", canoe goes around in circle  
 nala xənostca'ma, we came by canoe  
 a'xuna ndjo'xu'ana', come! come aboard  
 here!

1. Probably connected with Chip. nes'ail, they bite; Hupa, tc'uwnat, he chewed; Kato, nat'at, he was chewing; dagoat, biting them.
2. Beaver, εdjic, he breathed; Nav., nadısdzi, I breathe.
3. Beaver, γεdεlxt, he burned; Kato, nais-lxt, is it burning?; Hupa, nawllt, he nearly burned.
4. Hupa, tcuxouhwe, he will call; Nav., yiji, he named.
5. Beaver, naikj, he came by canoe; Kato, nɔnakkəs, it floated about; Hupa, tañxənnei, the canoe went away.

ɛli nala' ɛxɪnia', put that in the canoe !  
 txuzeni'nda', step out of boat !  
 nala ko''xa, he comes by canoe j  
 capsizing of canoe  
 na'de'tɛ, they capsize  
 ɪɛ nala ndulɛ', take care, the canoe will capsize !  
 e'nala ndulɛ', take care, the canoe will capsize !  
 nala ndelɛ', canoe capsizes  
 canoes go off shore, nala nde'ky'ɛ'  
 tsüdo nde'ky'ehɔ', canoes go off shore  
 to camp, de  
 gyn'ɔ'lix' nadɛ, he camps at Kinkolith  
 alo'nade livai', where is Levy camping ?  
 to carry (a round object), ' -a  
 e'stsiyɛ dɪsaa', I carry it on head  
 mətɛ'dadaaa', he (they) carried it on their  
 heads  
 naaa', you carry in hand  
 nœa', I carry in hand  
 kynas'a', to carry in hand  
 q'a'aa', to carry flying  
 to carry, -txo  
 e'stxɔ', I carry it in hand  
 to carry long object, ' -txa  
 ndi'stxa, I carry it on shoulder  
 k'a'sitxa, carry it on shoulder  
 to carry on back, to pack, ' -gyi  
 adu'sgyi, I pack it  
 anagyi', pack it !  
 adagyi duɔ'le, pack it you plu.  
 k'asɛgye', I carry it on back  
 uda'adɔ'rɛsɛgye', I carry it down  
 t'a dɔ'rɛsɛgye', I carry it up  
 nɛ:cnikyɛdaaa', I carry log on back  
 to carve, -tɛ

1. Beaver, nɛ'a', bring it ; Kato, dɛtɛgɛn'añ, he put in the fire ; Nav., na'a', I carry it.

2. Hupa, nonɔntan, he put ; Kato, tɛ'sntɛn, he took out (a spearshaft) ; Nav., nact'it, I carry a gun.

3. Hupa, tatɛ'swɛn, he carried out (of water) ; Kato, tɛ'ttɛsɛgin, he carried ; Nav., nanacɛɪ, I carry (a sack of grain).

mak'a'xune'stre, I carve  
 to catch (in trap), -tɔ  
 fu tsxtɔ'tɔba, did you catch a bear ?  
 to chew, -a  
 haa', ɛ'a' J, to chew  
 to club, -ɪɛ, -gɛ  
 skanɛmɛxani'stɛ, I will club it  
 or skanɛmɛxanu'stɛ  
 mɛxɔnistɛ mɛsɛ', I clubbed him dead  
 mɛxɛan'ɪɛ, to kill by clubbing  
 mɛxɛanilɛ', to club  
 to be cooked ' , -t'ɛ  
 tsüdo ɛ't'ɛ' a'xone', it is cooked, come !  
 tsüdo ɛ't'ɛ'dɔba, is it cooked yet ?  
 to crawl ' , -gɛ, -gɔ  
 d'ida'dɛrɛsɛgɛ, I crawled down  
 tɔd'rɛsɛgɛ, I crawled up  
 kho xɪnɔ'ɔsgɔ', house I crawled into  
 to cry ' , -fɛ  
 isfɛ', I am crying  
 e'mpfa'ga, thou art crying  
 e'pfe'tɛ, he is crying  
 e'pfaka, he absent is crying  
 dzu'u dadɛfɛ', the bird cries  
 pfe xixididiadɛ'a, crying she sang  
 e'fɛ', I am crying  
 e'mpfa' to cry (?) T'  
 bird cries on water, tɔdaq'a'  
 to cut ' , -t'a  
 di'st'a, I cut  
 bɛgɔ' di'st'a, I cut with knife  
 mɛxɛane'st'a', I cut it  
 mɛxɛnt'a', cut it !  
 hi'st'a, I cut off point

1. Beaver, sɛ'tɛ, cooked ; Kato, ɔst'ɛyɛ', it is cooked ; Nav., ast'ɛs I roast.

2. Hupa, nasqol, it crawled around.

3. Beaver, nɛtɛak'ya, are you crying ? Hupa, yawɔntɛwɔ, they cried ; Kato, tɛ'gɔntɛsɛ, he cried ; Nav., yuctɛa, I cry.

4. Chip., nawast'aθ, I am going to cut ; Beaver, dawont'as, cut it open ; Kato, yist'ats, he cut it ; Jic., k'ɛit'as, they cut off.

- məxanit'a, to cut a hole  
 to cut, -d'a  
 ikyninid'a, I cut to pieces  
 ikyninid'a, you cut to pieces  
 to cut with axe <sup>1</sup>, -ce  
 lu'ce', to (I) cut a tree  
 metsi lu'ce, I cut his neck off (his head I cut off)  
 to cut with axe, tseg.a nine'esxε  
 to dance <sup>2</sup>, -dlε  
 edlε', he dances  
 isdlε, I dance  
 daedlε', we dance  
 dax'edlε', two of us dance (?)  
 to die <sup>3</sup>, -tsa, -sa  
 mesā', dead here  
 teza'ts'a, dead T  
 to die, -dε, -d'ε  
 ad'edε', he is dead  
 tɛx̄iyi'kyid'ε', he died by a knife  
 axaa'ma ad'ε', he died by sickness  
 ayila məsε', he died by a gun wound  
 metsi lixid'ε'a, he died his head being cut off  
 meta'nuxuts'adε'a, everybody is dead  
 to dive  
 thu gyinabε', I dive (see to swim)  
 xuyu'be', diving  
 xa xuye'e'ta'. the goose dives J  
 See to swim, below.  
 to drink, -tra  
 txu de'stra, I drank  
 tho' hu'stra, I drink water  
 hu'stra, I shall drink  
 txu bεde'sa, txude'stra, I got water, I drank water  
 txo'x'ine'saε, to drink water T  
 to eat <sup>4</sup>, -tsxε

1. Nav., dice, I shave (bark from a tree).
2. Compare, San C. Apache, nedli, good time.
3. Nav., dastsa', I die.
4. Beaver, ɣintseɪ, you ate.

- tstsxε', I eat  
 ɛɣestsxε', I eat J  
 u'istsxε', I am going to eat  
 dao'itsxε', we are eating  
 tsūdo dau'tsrε, we will eat  
 tsūdo ustrε', he will eat  
 ho'stsxε', I shall eat  
 raqε la'xu'stsrε, I eat berries  
 daho'tsxε', we will eat  
 ɛts'e'xε xunstrε', what are you eating?  
 hu' unstrε dəbela, do you want to eat salmon?  
 ɛts'e'xε xustrε' debε', I have nothing to eat  
 u'stsrε, I eat salmon  
 dzu' atsxε', bird is eating  
 adebε let'ε' dahotsxε', never mind! raw we will eat it  
 fu' tsra xu'strε', I eat bear meat  
 to eat, -dε  
 ka'se' i'sdε, I eat berries J  
 lə'γə i'sdε, I eat salmon J  
 » εdε', he eats » J  
 » da'idε, we eat » J  
 » da'edε, they eat » J  
 txu gyaadε', bird eats on water  
 to emerge, the prefix xa  
 xa xa'siitsε', goose emerges  
 xi'tsa xadzidzε', seal comes up to breathe  
 to be empty,  
 hikadəbε', it is empty  
 cf. to be full  
 to extinguish a fire  
 kho nitsε', put out the fire  
 sa'a' kho natsε', put out the fire, dual  
 sadε' kho natsε', put out the fire, plural  
 kho natsa', the fire is out  
 nε'tsxε, the fire is out  
 to fall, of a tree <sup>1</sup>, xε  
 a'ne'xε, it is falling  
 ts'uwā'n'εxε', tree falls down

1. Chip., nasεlkeθ, he fell; Hupa, nonūn-xats, something fell; Kato, walkət, it fell through.

tsə təsane'xe', tree falls into water  
 ɛnɛʒɛ', tree falls  
 ts'ūda anɛʒɛ', trees fall  
 tsu ana'xəɛ tcico'niɛ', the tree will soon fall  
 down  
 anaʒa', man falls  
 anaʒe'debe ts'iso'mɛ, it is falling (?)  
 to fall, of a person <sup>1</sup>, -tsxɛ  
 ane'esxa', I fell down  
 thu səne'stsxɛ', I fall into water  
 na'astxɛ', I fall on to ground  
 kə s'side'sxɛ, I fall into fire  
 to fall, tide  
 tɣu ninitsru'la tide is falling  
 to fall, of a dead bird? -ma  
 a'sisla naa'e'ma, I shot them and they will  
 fall down  
 ani'sla nats'e'ma, I shot it and it fell down  
 a'sisɬo'na'e'ma, I shot it really and it fell  
 down  
 ado'ste'mano (n)of'e'ma, I will shoot it  
 and it will fall down here  
 a'sisla na'e'ma, I will shoot them and they  
 will fall down here  
 I fast, be'inasada'  
 to give a feast, 'a  
 nuxus'a', I will give a feast  
 nuxuaa', to give a feast  
 to fetch, to go after, -ca  
 txu bɛde'sa  
 txu bədu'ca, water I will go for  
 This appears to be the first person form  
 of the stem -ya, to go  
 to fight  
 ɬəda'ga, fight  
 ɬaga', to fight  
 to fly <sup>2</sup>, -d'ɛ, probably plural only  
 gynad'e', bird flies τ

ne'id'e', they fly  
 xa neide, geese fly  
 gynat'e'e, bird flies, 1  
 toda ɛd'e', eagle comes flying j  
 xa'ed'e', goose comes flying j  
 ts'ədadé ne'it'a, he flies up  
 mada'sənad'e, he soars j  
 q'abədet'e', eats in flying  
 to fly, -la, -t'a, singular  
 xa ne'it'a, the goose flies j  
 cf. xa neide, geese fly j  
 ts'e'tiit'e', duck (= flying right up)  
 ts'ədade'ne'it'a, it flies up  
 to be foggy  
 taa'xicatɛ', foggy  
 thaa'xisathe', it is foggy  
 to follow, the stems of verbs of going  
 mɛxino'sa', I will follow him  
 mɛxa'ase'sdza de'esɛ'duwa, I followed him,  
 but I did not kill him  
 mɛxa'esɛsdza ede'esɛ, I followed him and I  
 killed him  
 tɣe'mi ɬadja, he follows them  
 maxaɬid'a maqate'a, two men follow  
 to freeze, -trɛ  
 xudatɛ, it is going to freeze  
 in front of  
 e'sts'a hɛda', he goes in front of me j  
 matca hɛ'sda', I go in front of him j  
 e'stsha'e'nda, you go in front of me j  
 ma djo'nasxɛ', I stand in front of him j  
 to be full <sup>1</sup>, -a  
 dani'a', it is full  
 to give, na'τ  
 to go, -sa, -ca, probably stem -ya affected  
 by first person prefix *c* or *s* <sup>2</sup>  
 də'rəsa, I go on a trip j

1. Chip., yailəthoiyi, was falling; Hupa, nalsit, it fell; Kato, nolsɬt, it fell.

2. Chip., nagət'ak', he flew down; Kato, nɛnt'aɣ, it flew; Jic., nact'ai, I fly.

1. Chip., danel'ə, hoiyihik'e, it was filled with.

2. Chip., tuca, let me walk; Hupa, nahwa, I will walk; Kato, naca', I will go about; Jic., naca', I go about.

etso xnosá', I go to my grandmother  
 cf. etso xinodé, we go to our grandmother  
 xədə'rəsa' (də'rəsa'), I go far away j  
 atce'do'usa, I am going up mountain  
 txu xo'ca', I will go to get water  
 mexiino'ca'ka, I will go after a bear  
 nalaxo'ca', to go in canoe  
 to go <sup>1</sup>, -dza  
 tsəduŋdu'sdza, I will soon go  
 yida'dəw'sdza, I go down j  
 mandide'rəsdza, I go to meet him j  
 xi(nəw)'əsdz'a, I go into house j  
 to go, -dja, probably from stem -ya combined  
 with preceding prefix d used of retracing  
 or repeating a journey  
 tsüdo adu'əsdja', I am going to go back  
 maxano'sdja, I will go to fetch him  
 to go <sup>2</sup>, -da  
 ista'sənada', I go around it j  
 atxanə'thasta, I go on a trail j  
 ex inite, I will go aboard  
 axunə e'h'əgyine'nd'anə, come, I will go  
 with you  
 to go, -de, plural only <sup>3</sup>  
 hədu'də, we are going to go:  
 to go, -a, dual only <sup>4</sup>  
 xima xase'a, we two went up  
 to go up <sup>5</sup>, -xa (?)  
 atcadəxa', he has gone up the mountain  
 ixu'tse'tidaxa'a, he is going up the mountain  
 there

1. Wh. Mt. Apache, dananasdza, he went again.

2. Chip., nida, he walked; Hupa, nawıtdal, he went; Jic., tc'enagətdac, he came up again.

3. Chip., nayidət, we travelled; Hupa, weıdıt, we will go; Kato, kasidəl', we came up (dual only).

4. Chip., wo'as, you two walk; Nav., yi'ac, they two are walking.

5. Compare Chip., xaθəya, he went up; Hupa, tseyai, I went away; Kato, tc'nanyai, he came there; Jic., xoya, let him come.

Compare:

atcado'uda', we are going up the mountain  
 didə'rətə, we go up the mountain j  
 tsəgədu'də'rəsa, thou goest up the mountain j  
 xi(səw)'usə <sup>1</sup>, I will go up (hill) j  
 wudəna'sd'a, I am going down the mountain  
 wudəna'drə, we two are going down the  
 mountain  
 wudənədə', we are going down the mountain  
 də'rəsa, I go j  
 dəxa', he goes j  
 do'nəxa', thou goest j  
 də'rəda, we go j  
 dadə', ye go j  
 xıdadə', they go j  
 etso' xno'sa', I go to my grandmother  
 etso' xino'də, we go to our grandmother  
 mad'anə'wəs da, I go behind him j  
 e'sd'anə'hədə', he goes behind me j  
 nid'anə'hədə', he goes behind thee j  
 dagyahə'da', he goes behind us j  
 dagyahə'da'ya, he goes behind them j  
 se'ıda, go up!  
 ntsu gyinanta', go to your grandmother  
 e'xinnda, go aboard!  
 du'wə, all aboard!  
 əxiłə', go  
 əxinite', I will go aboard  
 əłotsədu'duxa', when will you go?  
 əło'həgə dəxa', when did he go?  
 tsüdo səntdu'ot'sa', we are going back  
 estca'na'də', go (plural)  
 estcana'drə', go (dual)  
 txu xo'd'a', we will go to fetch water  
 falling (?) -dət <sup>2</sup>, plural only  
 du'ts indətə', it is hailing  
 to hang (intransitive), -tso  
 əło'tisətso', where is it hanging?  
 ixə disətso', here it is hanging  
 mədoditsu', to hang on a nail, v-a

1. The r is very weak.

2. Compare, Hupa, nandət, it snowed.



cf. mədidiá', to hang on to a nail  
to have  
ɪsté'isada, I have a dog J  
nəʔe'ənt'e'ya, hást thou a dog? J  
lə'sada', he has a dog J  
lə' da'it'e'da xə'g.ə, we have a dog J  
nəʔe' daad'e'ya, they have a dog J  
xutə' sada, they have a dog J  
ɪsté' use', I had a dog J  
to howl, cf. to cry, above  
axa' sɛs', the wolf howls  
to be hungry<sup>1</sup>  
epfexidala', I am hungry  
epfexidala'deba', I am not hungry  
ispe'xidala', I am hungry J  
nipe'xidala'ya, art thou hungry? J  
dapfeyadala', we are hungry J  
dapfexadala'ya, are ye hungry? J  
mapfexidala', he is hungry J  
gudarispexidala'duwa, I am not hungry  
gudamabfexidala'duwə', he is not hungry  
dapfexa'dala'duwə, we are not hungry  
to invite,  
məkyəhu'sanə', I go and invite people  
ɛliku'unsxə', you are invited to dinner  
tre'kxəxunia', to invite  
to jump, -ka -qa,  
madatxu tsenu'xka, I jump up  
na'duxka, I jump down  
hu'tsəduxka, I jump over  
txu dzu'nxka, I jump into water  
wu'tsədɛxqə', jumping  
to kick, -txa (to do with the foot)  
xapie'stxa, I kick it away  
cf. xuabi's'a', I kick it  
to kill<sup>2</sup>, -xə  
sɛdnxə', I have killed him T  
məxa'əzɛsdza ede'esx'ɛ I followed him and  
I killed him J

1. Compare Beaver, caʔatu, they are starving me.

2. Beaver, yəzə'xai, he killed; Jic., biyəs-xina, they killed him.

ləkwa ade'icə', I have killed him with a knife  
bɛs de'icə', I have killed him with a knife  
fu txədeic', I killed a bear  
e'sta i'dɛxə', my father killed it (that bear)  
cf. ɪsta hi'dɛ fu yixə djeigya', my father two  
bears killed on the mountain J  
dərəsxə', I am going to kill it J  
sxənədi'əxə', I have killed it  
de'icə', I have killed him  
mai'dɛxə'ɛde fu, who killed that bear? J  
lə'də'rənde'esxə, I killed it for the dogs J  
denəxə'ya, to kill, probably « did you kill  
it? » T

to kill, with various stems according to the act  
required

k'a əsənəʔe', I kill him with an arrow T  
ɪs'nənla o'na', I kill him with a gun T  
e'xəanəntg.e, I have killed him with my  
hands T  
bɛgɔ'ɔ sɛd'nxə, I have killed him with a  
knife T  
məxəane'lsxə, I have killed him with a  
stone T  
məxəan'nɛ, I have killed him with a stick T  
məxəana'a, to kill with the teeth T  
məxəani's'a', to kill with the teeth T  
ɪxəanə'n'a, I have killed him with my teeth T  
məxəani'stxə', to kill with hand, probably « I  
kill with hands ».

to kindle a fire,

kho x'adela, make a fire

to know

məxinasne', I know

da'dia, I do not know

ats'e'xə'me' xinasne'dəbɛ ade'ne'ma, I do  
not know what they mean

to land (a canoe)

na'ta tina'kyə, canoe lands

ntca'ky'a hna'ya, have the canoes landed? J

tsu'do na'ta tina'ya, canoes land

1. Beaver, yədaʔts, he hit him; Kato. tɛla, he shot.

tsenu'kyma', to land  
 to laugh<sup>1</sup>  
 gye'ntg.ɔ', to laugh T  
 ge'e'sto, I laugh J  
 to be lazy  
 ma'la'', I am lazy  
 xutsɛ di'di'dɛbɛ, are you lazy ?  
 hutsə de'sde', I am lazy  
 xutsədəde', we are lazy  
 to leave  
 matsya'dixataa'ma, I think he has left  
 nixəndo'sa, to leave by canoe T  
 .sg.anets'e'xa wɛ'tsa, I am left, I am all alone  
 to lie<sup>2</sup>, -ta, -tɛ  
 tsūdo ni'r'ɛ', go to bed, lie down !  
 xad'ɛdɛ xustɛ', man is lying  
 no'stɛ, he lies down T  
 P'ɔ'gɣa he'stɛ, he sleeps on the prairie J  
 tsɛgɣɛ he'stɛ, he sleeps on mountain  
 thuga e'stɛ, he sleeps at the river J  
 nu'stɛ', I am going to bed  
 tsūdo nu'stɛ', I will soon go to bed  
 tsūdo drədranu'tɛ', we will soon go to bed  
 to handle object, -<sup>3</sup>a, (probably round)  
 sən'a', lay it down T  
 txu s'əns'a, lay it into water  
 qɔs'əns'a, lay it into fire  
 position of long object, -txa  
 ts'u satxa', tree is lying  
 atxa', stick is lying  
 plural of above<sup>3</sup> -la,  
 atxa tsala', sticks are lying  
 ts'u lxala tsala', trees are lying  
 to lie down, -thɛ, same as -tɛ, above  
 seisthɛ, I lie down J

1. Chip., nadsdloɛ, they laughed ; Beaver, yostɛdloɛ, was laughing ; Nav., yisdlo, I laughed.

2. Beaver, ssti, he was lying ; Chip., nstj', he lay ; Hupa, sittan, he was lying ; Nav., sat'j, I am lying.

3. Chip., θɛlai, lies there ; Hupa, yasllai, they were there.

le'ide de'sthɛ, we two lie down J  
 da'sithɛ', we lie down  
 ninthɛ', thou lie down J  
 cɛ'thɛ', he is lying down J  
 sɛ'thɛ', (?), ye lie down J  
 da'hutɛ', we lie down  
 hux'usatɛ', they lie down  
 to lift  
 neci'tinte', I lift it up  
 to live, to camp<sup>1</sup>, -de  
 aɔ'nixadɛ', where are they living ? J  
 aɔ'nandɛ', where do you live ? J  
 K. naasɛ', I am living at K. J  
 to lie, xie'<sup>2</sup>  
 to look<sup>3</sup>  
 nde'exude', look up  
 ndi'oxudu'xiɛ, look up !  
 k'at'adɛ', look back  
 atxanɛ x'ininɛ'sta, I look for a trail J  
 to louse  
 xacadɛ', look for louse  
 to love  
 d'nɣɛ', to love  
 to make<sup>3</sup> -tɛ,  
 ma'xɛ'xiitssi'at'ɛ', who made the traps ?  
 Le'bai ye'tse', Levi made it  
 xɛ hu'stɛ', I shall make trap for thee  
 dɛdi'xɛ dzi'stɛ, I have made a trap for thee  
 to melt, of ice,  
 txɛ k'adala, ice melts  
 to take off  
 gutɛ xanidco', take off your coat !  
 cf. gutɛxinda', put on your coat !  
 gutoxuca', I put on my coat  
 to paint  
 mak'a'xune'sgyɛ, I paint  
 cf. nane'tsɛ, to paint face

-1. Chip., nayidɛ', we stayed ; Beaver, nads, he lives.

2. Beaver, wak'asta, I looked for it.

3. Chip., θɛtsj', she made ; Hupa, adustcwɛn, he made himself ; Kato, zltci, make it.

to pay indemnity for person killed in war  
 hwaga idla'  
 to play hockey  
 aqe'le o'ina', we play  
 aqe'le ado'se', I shall play hockey  
 to pull, -dz'ε, -dx'ε  
 o'sdz'ε', I pull  
 'ndx'ε, pull!  
 to push, -dle, -dlu  
 xu'i'sdlu', I have pushed it  
 xuabi'sgyε', I push it with a stick  
 xu'i'sdle', I pushed it with hand  
 to push with stick, -gyε, -qa  
 xuabisgyε, I push it with a stick  
 xuab'ninga, push it away with a stick  
 to put, -'a, probably a round object  
 masa'es'a, I put it into mouth j  
 thu sene's'a, I put into water j  
 ne'gy'a nene'n'a, lay it on the ground T  
 to put wood, -tσα  
 khaxa hede'ntsa, put wood in the fire  
 to put, -le  
 elge'nə si'sitε, I put them together j  
 to rain  
 tca na'tci', it is raining  
 to take revenge  
 adet'andε', he takes revenge  
 to rise, of tide  
 txu thadena', tide is rising  
 to roast meat  
 adzxa xie'stdzə, I roast meat j  
 to roll, of stone  
 tso'dats'ε', stone is rolling down  
 to roll, of tree  
 tsoqa'kwə, tree is rolling down  
 to roll, l'ε, of plural objects  
 tso'daf'ε', stones, trees are rolling down  
 aba' wudidε'ε', goats are rolling down  
 Cf. ne'ε wuda'tsε, look here! it is rolling  
 down (goat)  
 to run, -l'a, in singular only<sup>1</sup>  
 1. Beaver, dε'l'a, he ran.

ky'inast'a', I run  
 ky'inast'ε', I did run  
 di'ist'a, I am running  
 tsūdo du'esta', I am going to run  
 ida'a dərəst'a', I run down j  
 tūdərəst'a', I run up j  
 o'ca, I will run up (stem of walking, see p. 22)  
 ista'sənat'ε', I run around it j  
 iɣawo'tse xus't'a, he is running now  
 daf'a, he is going to run  
 ky'inale', he is running fa:t  
 dō'əst'a, I am running  
 tsūdo do'ut'a, I am going to run  
 de'ist'a, I am running  
 de'inla', thou art running  
 daf'a, he is running  
 dərəst'a, I run j  
 dərənt'a, thou art running j  
 dəf'a, he is running j  
 seil'a', run up  
 cf. se'a, you two run up!  
 tga daf'a, man runs j  
 du't'a, we are going to run  
 sa'de't'a, running around  
 fu atcedaf'a', the bear is running around  
 xade'fu daf'a', come quick! the bear is run-  
 ning away  
 koog.a daf'a', deer runs  
 axa'daf'a', wolf runs j  
 cf. axa'ldinaa, wolves run  
 axa'dəəf'a', wolf runs j  
 to'nə daf'a', mouse runs j  
 adjanaf'a', it has run away  
 tsədu'tof'a' maxa tsigə'dwet, it will run away  
 if you don't go after it  
 ɛduf'a'γa, It will run away  
 to run, -de, -da, plural  
 lden'ide', we are running  
 ldino'ode, ye are running  
 ld'nade, they are running  
 ldənə'rəde, we run j  
 ldəna'dε, ye run (?) j  
 xildi'nads, they run j

se'de, you (plural) run!  
 douf'a netseda', we did run (?)  
 tidad'a', running up (dual)  
 tidade', running up (plural)  
 tedid'e'ldeneid'e', we two are running J  
 to run, -daa, -naa, of animals in plural  
 fu etceda'a, the bears are running J  
 adjadaa', they (?) have run away J  
 axa' ld'naa, wolves run J

Compare the following, apparently plural with singular stem  
 q'aifa', we are running  
 tsüdo dul'a', we are running (*sic*), but clearly future

do'ul'a', we are running

Also compare

daa'ma, they have run away  
 xue'gyi axa', the wolf is running  
 axa' igy'ital'e', the wolves are running  
 galdene'e', they are running fast  
 tidxa', running up

to run out, of tide

txu nsetxs'e', tide runs out

to be sad

di'saa', I am sad

ixaa'kad'e'ya, art thou sad?

to say

ma'nene, who said so?

to see', -ena, -ina

maxino'sai'ma no'he'na', I go to see him

la'daxan nu'ina', I came to see you

la'daxan no's'ena', he came to see me

ntsö'kyinaa', let me see!

se'de'n'e, to see T

to separate

xita'ale, I separate them J

to shake (transitive)

nasxe', I shake it

naex', to shake something

1. Chip., yis'j, I see; Hupa, ndñ, look; Kato, nax'inz, I saw it; Nav., yoj', let him look.

to shine

f'a te'sequo', the sun is shining

to be sick, -xae

ica'a, I am sick

guda e'sxae, I am always sick J

guda g'axu e'sxae'duwe, I have never been sick J

ə'saa'idəba', I am not sick

exa'a, he is sick; e'xae, he is sick J T

e'sta a'xae, my father is sick J

e'sona a'xae, my mother is sick

guda e'xae'duwe, he is not sick J

guda e'sxae'duwe, I am not sick J

ixaa'ya, art thou sick?

dae'xaa', we are sick

ixa'a, you are sick

daaxaa', are you sick?

ato'axaa', where are you sick?

ne'xu xi'ya axaa'ya, have you a toothache?

e'stsaaxa'a, I have headache

e'xu axa'a, I have toothache

e'st'ana a'xae, my back is sick T

e'sbe e'xae, my belly is sick T

e'stg.a a'xae, my eye is sick T

e'skya a'xae, my foot is sick T

e'sta a'xae, my hand is sick T

e'stse exae, my head is sick T

e'xph'e e'xae, my heart is sick T

e'saxu a'xae, my mouth is sick T

e'stse' a'xae, my nose is sick

e'sxae, I am sick T J

nana i'xae T, nene exa'e, thou art sick

exae'(igy'e) T, e'xae J, he is sick

xana'dexaxae, we are sick T

e'xae'igy'e, they are sick T

to sing', -dji.

isdji', I sing

'ndji, indze' T, sing thou!

daadji', sing you (plu.)!

dao'dji daxwo', we sing

dao'djina', let us sing!

1. Beaver, ədjin, he was singing.

ɛdʒɛ', sing  
 daɛdʒɛ', we sing  
 to'wa ɛndʒia', do not sing !  
 to sing, of bird  
 dɛfwɛ', singing of bird  
 cf. q'asɛdet'ɛ', bird sings in flying  
 to sit, singular only <sup>1</sup>, -da.  
 sɛnd'a', s:nda', sit down  
 seɛsɛɛ, I sit down J  
 se'sda', I am sitting J  
 sɛnda', he sits on a mat  
 nu'sda', I shall sit down  
 hu'sde', I shall sit down  
 kyidanu'sdane'', I am going to sit down  
 hosta'ma, he will sit down  
 sɛsdá, sit down !  
 kyida nosdane'', I am going to sit down  
 atrawu masad'a', sit close by the road  
 sɛnda', sit down T  
 to sit, -kɛ, kye, dual only <sup>2</sup>  
 sak'ɛ', you two sit  
 le'did'ɛ'' sikye, we two are sitting J  
 to sit, -tɛɛ, -dz'a, plural only <sup>3</sup>  
 datsɛ, you (plu.) sit  
 de'idz'a', we are sitting J  
 dinodz'ɛ'ne'', we are going to sit down  
 to skin-tɛɛ' -tcce,  
 dɛstceɛ', I skin it  
 dustceɛ', I am going to skin it  
 do'utsɛ, we are going to skin it  
 to slip  
 dɛdɛɛ', to slip  
 cf. hudɛ'kenɛ, slippery  
 to sleep, to lie  
 no'st'a, I sleep

1. Chip., ʰɛda, he is sitting ; sɛdai, he lived ; Kato, sidai, I sit ; Nav., sida, he is sitting.

2. Chip., ʰɛkɛ, they two sat ; Jic., na'kɛ, you two sit down ; Nav., sɛkɛ, they two are sitting.

3. Beaver, da'ts'i, you (plural) sit ; Chip., dɛʰilʰ'i, we are sitting ; Hupa, yadɛtsɛ, they were living.

nathe', he sleeps  
 fu sɛtɛ'e', the bear is sleeping  
 sɛntɛ'e', sleeping (you sleep)  
 to slide  
 dɛɛika', slide  
 to smoke  
 kxwoɛini'sdja'a, I want to smoke  
 khɔ ɔ''s'e, to smoke  
 to sneeze  
 istaxoasɛ'e, I sneeze  
 to snow, to fall in plural (?)  
 ɛxo ndɛte', it is snowing  
 to speak <sup>1</sup>, dɛ  
 xunɛsɛ'e', I speak  
 xuɛsɛ'e'', I speak J  
 xundɛ''ya, art thou speaking J  
 xuadɛ', he is speaking J  
 daxo'ide, we are speaking J  
 daxoadɛ', are ye speaking? J  
 daxoadɛ', they speak  
 xundɛ' you speak T  
 to spread  
 nɛne'ky'a, spread out  
 niyɛ'ka, spread out one  
 ɛxanidɛfadɛ'a, spread them out in a row  
 to stab  
 ciixgo', to stab with a knife  
 to stand <sup>2</sup>, -xɛ  
 nansxɛ', you stand T  
 nɛrɛsxɛ', I stand up J  
 nasxɛ', I am standing J  
 sɛnɛ Pɛ'nasxɛ', I stand alone J  
 e'tande''ixa, I stand with him J  
 mad'a n'nasxɛ, I stand behind him J  
 mɛxatsɛ'nasxɛ', I stand below him J  
 matxa'nasxɛ, I stand above him J  
 ne'isa, I stand J  
 cf. ne'e'ite, we stand J

1. Chip., adi, he spoke ; Hupa, adɛnna, he said ; Jic., adnnina, he spoke.

2. Compare Beaver, nidɛyadji, where they were standing ; also Hupa, tɛ'udilye''x, they danced, probably, " they stood in line."

- to stand, of animals  
 le'naesg.e, dog stands j  
 xa naesg.e', goose stands j
- to stand, -xa, of animals in plural  
 le'nda'e'xa', dogs are standing j  
 xa ndae'xa', geese are standing j
- Compare  
 nasr'e', he stands (man, animal)  
 nde'xa', dual and plural
- to stand, of house  
 kho ad'e', house is standing  
 kho dae'xa, houses are standing  
 kho te'it'e dae'xa, two houses are standing
- to stand, of tree  
 ts'u' naaha, tree stands j  
 ts'u' nasaa, trees are standing j
- Compare  
 k'a'ko ane'xe'dobe, it is still standing
- to stand up, -da  
 ne'inda', stand up  
 naade'e', stand up (pl.)
- to starve  
 ade'f'e', to starve
- to steal  
 ane's'e', I steal  
 ane'e'', to steal  
 ana'e, to steal r
- to stop  
 tse'de'ba, I will stop now  
 ts'udo de'be le'ne', we will stop
- to strike  
 ane'da huwuce', I break it by striking
- to strike with fist, -tre  
 ne'ne'stre, I strike with fist  
 nini'tre, he struck me with fist
- to swallow <sup>1</sup>, -de  
 edi'sde, I swallow  
 daadede', we swallow  
 de'isd'e', to swallow, probably I swallow  
 edede', he swallows

1. Perhaps Chip., yek'estdel, he ate all of two fish.

- to take out, perhaps with tongs, -lre  
 inlre', take stones out of fire  
 ts'e'ifre', I will take stones out of fire
- to swim <sup>1</sup>, -be  
 kyino'sbe', I swim  
 kyino'be', we swim  
 gyuna'sbe', I swim j  
 gynambe'eya, art thou swimming? j  
 gynabe', he is swimming j  
 gy'ina'sbe xina'sene', I know how to swim j  
 mixina'sne gy'ina'sbe', " " j  
 mixinane' gyiginabe', doest thou know how to swim? j  
 mixinane' gyinabe', he knows how to swim j  
 gyino'esbe', I swim j  
 gyinabe', he swims j  
 txu ky'inabe'', he swims on water  
 tg.e' gynabe', man is swimming j  
 gy'nabe', fish, man, dog, swims r  
 lo' gy'inabe', salmon swims j  
 lo' mada'sonabe'', fish swims around in a circle j  
 ko'g.a gy'nabe', deer is swimming j  
 xa gy'unabe', goose swims j  
 xae hebe', goose comes swimming j  
 xa gy'inabe' ani'nte', the goose was swimming when I shot it
- to swim, plural only, -a  
 k'a'eo, we swim j  
 gyna'ya, are ye swimming j  
 kaxa'o, they are swimming j  
 gy'una'o " " " j  
 mæxa'ini k'a'eo', we know how to swim j  
 mæxa'nane gy'una'o', do ye know to swim? j  
 mæxa'xinane kaxa'o, they know how to swim j  
 lo g.a'na'o, salmon swim pl. j.  
 kag.a k'una'o, deer swim j  
 xa gy'ina'o, geese are swimming

1. Chip., tusbe, let me swim; Hupa, nauwme, let me swim; Kato, nibine, I swam; Jic., nacbe, I am going to bathe; Nav., nsebj', I swam.

xa g  
 ab  
 gy'in  
 gy'in  
 to talk  
 ixo'  
 xunn  
 laya  
 to tear  
 ne's  
 no's  
 to tear  
 ikyin  
 te'is  
 meth  
 mate  
 to tell  
 med  
 med  
 to be t  
 e'sa  
 ne's  
 txu  
 we  
 to thro  
 ade'  
 ade'  
 ede'  
 r'us  
 adu  
 txu  
 q's  
 to thro  
 xua  
 xo'  
 tho  
 le'ts

1. Nav.,  
 2. Hupa.

xa gyinaɔ' anista', geese were swimming |  
 about when I shot them  
 gy'inɔ'ənsɛ', we swim |  
 gy'inɔ'ne', ye swim |  
 gy'ina'ɔgyɛ, they swim |  
 to talk ʼ, -dɛ  
 ixo'utsu xudɛ', he is talking  
 xunnɛ', thou art talking  
 layadaxudɛ', we are talking together  
 to tear, -tsɛ  
 ne'stsɛ, I tear it  
 no'stsɛ, I will tear it  
 to tear ʼ, -ts'ɛ  
 ikyinists'ɛ', I tear to pieces  
 le'ists'ɛ', I tear off point  
 mathe'ni lists'ɛ', I tear in the middle  
 mate'finidzɛ', tear off point  
 to tell a story,  
 medu'xustɛ'e, I tell a story  
 medu'xɛts'ɛ, to tell a story  
 to be thirsty  
 e'sa hu hu'gul txu'stra, I am thirsty  
 ne'shuhugu'la, art thou thirsty ?  
 txu ts'iinka txu trao'trana', get water, water  
 we want to drink  
 to throw, -xɛ  
 adɛ'xɛ', I throw  
 adɛ'xɛ'e', I throw stone or ball  
 ede'nxɛ'idi'a, throw stone up ! τ  
 txus ane'xɛ, throw stone into water ! τ  
 adu'cɛ', I will throw it into water  
 txu soocɛ', throw it into water !  
 qɔs ane'xɛ, throw stones into fire ! τ  
 to throw-, tɛ, -lo  
 xuanə'nɛ, throw stones down τ  
 xo'anə'nɛ', throw a stone on the ground ! τ  
 to shəne'sto, I throw it into water |  
 le'tsi'xuii'stu, I throw it to the dogs |

1. Chip., dayaltiθ'ɛni, I heard you talking ;  
 Nav., yalti', he is talking.

2. Compare Chip., na'ɣntc'ul, were torn ;  
 Hupa, djɛwɔ'kd, he tore away.

to be tired  
 ispɛ'nina'ɬɔ, I am tired |  
 kaɣinistsrɛ', I am tired  
 kaɣinilɛ', we are tired (dual and plural)  
 kaɣinistra', I am tired  
 kaɣinistsrɛ'ya, art thou tired ?  
 kagyaa'tsrɛ', he is tired  
 kaɣinilɛ', we are tired  
 kaɣil'e'ma, are ye tired ?  
 to touch  
 mɣa'dəne, I touch it τ  
 cf. nei'k a me'ɣa'dengyi, I touch it with my  
 foot τ  
 -kxɛ, to trade  
 uskxɛ', I will trade  
 ukxɛ', to trade  
 to travel, -da, of one person ʼ ; (these words  
 were taken down under the word "to come")  
 lɛna'sda, I am coming  
 k'atco'la do'usdja', I am going to come (back)  
 lɛna'da, he is coming  
 natg.a'da, man is coming τ  
 eɣi'nand'a, come here  
 kwɔ xatyɛ', to come out, of smoke  
 to travel, -dɛ, of more than two persons ʼ  
 lɛnadɛ', they are coming  
 axo'niɣ'nadɛ, come here (plu.)  
 to travel, -d'a, dual only  
 i'ɣi'nad'a, come here ! dual  
 to turn something around, probably to handle  
 a long object, -tsrɛ  
 tsnatsrɛ', to turn a round thing  
 to turn oneself around  
 sasa'a, to turn around  
 sase'a, turn around !  
 Compare  
 sɛnakwɔ', to turn over  
 sa'de't'ɛ', bird turns over in flying

1. Beaver, nadɛnda, you go ; Hupa, nawɬ-  
 dal ; Nav., nacda, I go.

2. Beaver, wonidɛl, they came ; Hupa,  
 yanɛdɛl, they went.

to walk, -da, singular only  
 ky'ino'sda'ma, I walk  
 adu'kano'sta'ma, I walk  
 matxah'e'sda', I walk above him J  
 məxatsəye'sda, I walk below him J  
 ʔahae'da', he comes walking J  
 k'inada', one man walks  
 yinda', he walks J

to walk, -dja  
 sido'ndo'sdja, I shall walk  
 tsūdo nduəsdja', I am going to walk  
 slowly

to walk, first person only, sa  
 sxəf'ede'əsa, I walk along J  
 tide'isa, I walk up river J  
 txu no'sa, I walk across water  
 de'isa, I walk J  
 de'niʔa', thou walkest J  
 de'xaaha', he walks J  
 de'ida, we walk J  
 do'nuxa', ye walk J  
 de'de', they walk J

to walk, -xa  
 nde'xa, to walk down river J  
 tide'axa, to walk up river J

to walk, of animal or bird  
 k'inaʔo', animal, bird walks

to warm ones self, -se, -dze  
 ne'fais'e', I will warm my hands  
 ne'isdze', I warm myself  
 ne'indze', you warm yourself  
 ne'ky'eda isi, warm thy feet

-k'o, to be warm  
 se'k'o', it is warm J  
 si'sk'o', I am warm J  
 cək'o'ya, art thou warm ? J  
 da'sik'o, we are warm J  
 ʔie'k'o, we are warm J

to wash  
 idne'guste', I wash my face  
 adəsu', to wash the body  
 xa'io', washing clothes

to yawn  
 de'sts'e', I yawn  
 dats'e', we yawn

## ADJECTIVES

bad ta'at'e', J ; L.

big

fu ctcxu'la, big bear

xo ctcxu'la, big male grizzly bear

txane'utsxo', big man

mətse'utsxo', man with a big head or nose

black dənə'slənə,

dənəst'ənə, black T

blue', de'e'itc

clear, ts'e'ba'

cold

xuask'a's, it is cold<sup>2</sup>

xusʔ'a's, cold T

thu sakyə', cold water J

sindli'ʔ, T ; se'isdlu', I am cold

sindlo'ya, art thou cold ?

se'dlo', he is cold

ʔeidəxəe'idlo, we are cold

xaadlo'ya, are ye cold ?

xee'idlo', they are cold

da'sidlo', we are cold

deaf,

mədji'dəbe, deaf (= no ears)

adje'duwe, no ears, deaf J

faint, matəxəhwət'i'e'o

foolish, not wise, nənaxə'dəbe,

good, ata'wa, J., T

adebe' L.

atawe'ya, is it good ? J

kho'ka da'na, very good wood

1. Chip., de'as, it is blue ; Jic., da'idi, blue ; Nav., do'ij.

2. Chip., tanək'əduwe, cold lake ; Jic., gosk'ats', it was cold ; Nav., dək'az, cold.

3. Compare Chip., 0əsdiisj. Nav. yicdlo, I am cold.

gray

tsehi

green

dəsts

dəsts

tse'te

green,

tsu d

hard, x

high, n

high w

hot

xuaq

thu

large,

u'ts

ünts

khu

ünts

mm

lazy, n

lean, u

left, x

level,

(not)

long,

wudr

male

fu

xo

tca

ti

xi

xe

1.

Kato

2.

gree

3.

dəst

Kato

buff



## gray

tse<sup>l</sup>i diqale', he is very gray haired <sup>1</sup>

## green

dεstsxabε', green <sup>2</sup>

dεstsxauwe T

tse'te'sxome', green rock

## green, not dry

tsu d'εle'ə, wet wood, green

## hard, xude'lu

high, ndi'xana

high water, txo' xit'nε tso'

## hot

xuaqwə', hot sunshine

thu sakho', hot water J

large, see also big <sup>3</sup>

u'tsxu'

ūntsa' T

khu tcxu'la, large house

ūntsa'kxə', large house T

mme' dəwunatxa', large lake

## lazy, ma'la

lean, utshεye' trəna'

left, xuts'əde' J

level, ts'uxsələ'

(not) liberal, mal'a'adebe'

long, utγε'le' J

wudr'la

## male

fū daxe'ε, male bear J

xə dəxi'ə, male grizzly bear J

tca daxe'', male beaver J; tsa daxe'e

ti dexi'dε, male dog

xide', male (fish)

xetsa dexe'ε, male seal

## many

its'a'ada T

itsaad'ε le', many dogs J

alie' le' ts'adε', there are many dogs

le' ts'adε, I have many dogs

itsaad'ε', many men

## narrow, xutsūie'

new, ado'kwa ε'xε'

## old

o'kune'ε'xε', old (things)

ca'n

adja'

cane'edisde''e, I am an old man

sa'ena, old

plentiful, nts'ad'ε'

pregnant, du'niad'ε'

pretty, adebe' (see good)

proud, mεxεnuxεxi'dəbe

raw, le't'ε'

## red

sxo dεle', red star

tse te'dele', red stone

dεdεle', red, dark brown

right (side)

nəxunde''

rough, xa'batcune'xε

short, u'k'u'la

uk'ə'he J

small, utcεye'

utsa'ə T

khu'tcεye'ε, small house

smooth, dek'a'na

soft, tcxo'fra'

speckled

le adekye't, speckled dog

steep, tsuni'tsube'

stiff, tsaqale'

stout, utsxo'

## strong

adəntcxa', strong (man)

adətsxa strong (man) T

de'lu', strong (rope)

thick, dekyena' (dekyina' Haida)

1. Chip., dəlgai, it is white; Hupa, tsəlgai; Kato, səlgai; Jic., ligaii, white.

2. Chip., dətəok' yellow; Hupa, hətso, green; Kato, dəltso, blue, Jic., litsoi, yellow.

3. Beaver, xak'itcok', large buffalo; Chip., dəstcok', large stream; Hupa, kdwekyo, spider; Kato, dəstco, grouse; Jic., iyanətso, large buffalo.

de'ikyaɬ  
thin, de'xɾe'la  
da'xale'  
tired  
ispfe'ninatɔ, I am tired  
dapfenase'la, we are tired  
ugly, tsa'ad'ɛ  
variegated color  
maqaronɛ ʔo ne'  
warm, xuaskɔ'n ɾ  
ku'tci intce', warm your back !  
weak, k'a'wingya' weak (man)  
ladla', weak (rope)  
wet, foliage  
duxatsni'la  
du'xao  
white  
da'q'ale', daq'alɛ', it is white J. L  
wide, xutsxa', xutsxalɛ'  
wise, nunaxɛɛ'  
yellow, daɔbaa', also brown  
young  
aduk'unaxɛ'  
dɔguanax ɛ' ɾ  
dzu'xa, young bird  
xɔ xa'a, young grizzly bear  
xɔ ya'a, young " " J  
tsa' ya'a, young beaver  
tca' ya'a " " J  
ɔk'yi'e utsxu'la, young man  
axaa', bear cub  
aya' " "

## NUMERALS

one, ɛ'lie'; ɛlitsa'; ɛle ɾ; ɛle' ɾ  
two,  
le'id'ɛ', two men J  
le'id'ɛ ɬɛ', two dogs J

1. Chip., dɔlba, gray; Hupa, dɔlmai, gray;  
Kato, dɔlbaɪ, brown; Jic., liba, brown.

three, txa'ade' J; txaɬed'ɛ'  
four, at'onɛɛ''; nt'one'i' J; at'o'nee ɾ  
five, ɛ'ɛ'da'  
ala'ɛ'dɛ J  
ala'ed'ɛ' ɾ  
six, ɛltats'ɛ'; ɛle' ta'atsxɛ' ɾ  
seven le'id'ɛthale'ɛ  
eight, txa'txalɛ'ɔ  
nine, ɛliad'unɛɛ''; ɛhila'xo'dunɛɛ'' (in coun-  
ting at'onɛɛ' = four)  
ten, ʔok'y'ada'; ha'ngy'ad'ɛ ɾ  
eleven, ʔok'y'ada'ɛle' (ɛlie'ɛ)  
twenty, lit'ɛ ʔo'gy'ade'; le'id'ɛ ʔo'ky'ade'  
thirty, txaɬɛ ʔo'gy'ade'

## PRONOUNS

## First person singular

I, sxəna'  
sxənɛ J  
tsxena' ɾ  
sxɛ'sxɛat'ɛ', it is mine  
ma'ex'ɛɪdɪdza, it is mine J

## Second person singular

nine', thou J  
nɛ'ne, nɛ'ne, thou ɾ  
niɛad'ɛ', it is thine  
nɛɛɬɛ'ɛ', it is thine J  
nɛɛɬɛ'ed'ɛiyɛ, it is thine J

## First person plural

daxɔ'ɔ, we J  
taxo', we ɾ  
dae'xɛ'ɛ', it is ours J  
dexɛ'ad'ɛ', it is ours

## Second person plural

daxɔ'ne', ye  
ta'xona, ye ɾ

## Possessives

ɛ'sla'', my hands J  
ne'la'', thy hands J

malá', his hands J  
 da'tá', our hands J  
 da'tá', your hands J  
 ma'tá', their hands J  
 ní'tse', thy head J  
 mé'tse', his head J  
 da'tse', our heads J  
 da'tse', your heads J  
 yít'sa d'ε'tsε', their heads J

## Interrogatives

ma'zi'ǰa, who went up ?  
 ma', who T

## ADVERBS.

here,

ndja, here  
 ndja, here it is (holding it in hand)  
 axi'ya, here T

there

tsε', there T  
 e'ade', on this side  
 e'na'de', on other side  
 wuxi'ya, near  
 iti'ya, far  
 tho'ga, at the river

e'its'ade'' often J  
 khu dje' only houses (no persons)

## Interrogatives

ala'', where ?  
 ale'', where is it ?  
 ab', where is it ?  
 ab', where is it ?  
 alo'sada', where ? J  
 dia', where is it ?  
 alo'nade'', where are you (camping) ? J  
 alo'xítáa', where do you belong ?  
 alo'ixidaa'anat'i'ε, where do you belong ?  
 alo'nixade L xas T, where are L and T ; J  
 alo' nukho', where is your house ?

Abel edi'a, where is Abel ?  
 ne't'ha di'a, where is your father ?  
 ntcí'utse he'dia, where is your younger brother ?  
 ist'saka' diya', where is my hat ?  
 isbε'ə diya'n, where is my knife ?  
 ehεgyinata' dia, where is your partner ?  
 alo' dzεndi'ε, where do you come from ?  
 alo' xhagyε' where is he going to come ? J  
 dɔo'nt'ε' malaxoca'ma how did you come J

## EXCLAMATIONS.

xade, come quick ! hurry up !  
 a, listen !  
 da, give me !  
 na, here, take it !  
 ɔ' yes !  
 dɔbε' ; do'wε T no.

## PHRASES.

tsε canyε, you will see tomorrow (what I am making)  
 ma tho ho'xa', who went to get water ?  
 ʃs'a'nidε axoda', give it to me !  
 se'skxɔɔ', I am warm  
 ε'bele khoma doudze'ma, we will stop in Abel's house  
 ε'xina'de'ǰ'ade'ε, go and take him aboard !  
 adu'ademε'le, have you got it in your hand ?  
 mətce'utsxɔhɔ', his nose is big  
 sadεtco', to put upside down  
 dunεe'ε, he is not here yet  
 aqadε ho'ǰa, the woman will come in  
 xoanε'nta, push it away with hand !  
 tsí'dabε, stop !  
 atxanε xa'niistsa, I lost the trail  
 » sta'exuatsa, we lost the trail  
 mag'a'tesda', I go at his side  
 mag'a'nasxε, I stand at his side  
 inaaky'ε mε'gyazənde'skxε, I cross lake  
 inaani'xidε:kxε, to cross lake

lakaduma tɣa'na, the people are all gone  
malaleixɛ', to break off point  
alo husta'doba naha'dinsa', there is no room in  
the canoe for you.  
kɔs x'ade'la', start a fire !  
da tsixu dunugye', it is approaching  
axuns', come ! L. T.  
da tsɛ xo du nigyɛ tɛdu'nɛɣa', are you coming  
to where the grizzly bear is ?  
ma' ɣɛtssi'at'ɛ', who made it ?  
nts'aya'ya, has he got a wife ?

## TEXT.

mats'eya ad'ɛɛɛ'. ɛ'tlits'a matccu'dɛɛ.  
His woman died. One his boy it is said.  
dedi ɣatiyidea ɣɛ titluxu'-  
Then he went it is said a marmot trap to make  
tle'dɔ' matccu'a. dedi ts'a'd'ɛ  
(with) his son. Then they two came to  
ɣa'nixiniadɛ'a. k'o'  
where many marmots it is said. A house  
nuxuwe'tsedɛ' matccu'ɛ. tɛxidɛadɛ'a  
he made it is said his son. They two were  
going up river  
it is said.  
deti (?) ɣɛ da tloxu'tledɔ. ɣɛ  
Then (?) marmot traps to make. Marmot  
trap  
t'awitsɛt'a'xidɛt'a. dedi x'ɛ  
they two went to look after it. Then marmot  
traps  
bou' dubɛd'ɛ'a. a'x'ɛdɛt'a dɛ naa'.  
in none it is said. They two in the  
returned afternoon.  
yi'xk'a' atɣawu'uma' sɛt'adɛ'a.  
A young trailborder was sitting it  
marmot is said.  
du'ni niditxidɛ'a yi'xk'a'ya.  
The child took up it is said the young marmot.

a'x'idɛt'ad'ɛ'a k'o' tla'xatɣadɛ'a.  
They two returned house. They two came  
it is said home it is said.  
xust'ɛ'ɛtl huk'ya tla'g.wɔ. metsitla'  
Ashé-marmot after them went. House corner  
wots'ax xudɛ ag.adɛ', axo'da istccu-  
in spoke a woman, " Give me my son  
diya. istccu' ts'e'ɣa ndi'ntɣɛ. —  
where. My son why did you take him ? " —  
" a'xona, ma'xa ɣi'nind'a. " — " nɛ k'o'  
" Come, come into house. " — " In house  
tsɔ'hud'a ɣi'nind'a. tl'ɣɔ ɣi'nindɣɛ  
too bad to go in. Grass put on floor  
nɛ k'o'. " tl'ɣɔɛ' tɣɛnɛ'a.  
in house. " He broke it (pulled it out) the man.  
tl'ɣɔ ɣitla' tɣɛnɛ' k'o' da. ag.adɛ'  
Grass spread the man house in. The woman  
ma'kaho'ɣadɔ. " a'xone tsüdo ɣi'ni'nda. "  
was about to enter. " Come, will enter. "  
ag.adɛ' ɣini'ɣadɛ'. " unadɛ'. "  
The woman came in. " Sit down there ! "  
t'nade' nada ag.adɛ'. t'a'  
She sat down the woman. A wing feather  
ɣaxodlɛ'dɛ ag.adɛ'a. t'a' matla'tx  
wanted the woman. A wing feather he gave  
it to her  
ag.adɛ'a. t'a' nitxada'  
the woman. The wing feather she took it  
ag.adɛ'a. t'a' me'tsɛxaa.idɛ'a.  
the woman. The wing outside she moved it  
feather it is said (she rubbed  
him with it).  
axe'ɛtl mɛɣi guhudɛdɛ'a.  
Slime inside she washed it out it is said.  
mɛɣinadɛdɛ'a. hu'sdɛa  
They were married (?) it is said. She-marmot  
a.gadɛ'a ɣinar'adɛ'. tɣa'led'ɛ ni'aka'  
woman they were married. Three days

edeccu'. at'onee' ni'aka' dēdi  
she purified him. The fourth day marmots  
xadidexad'ε<sup>a</sup>. xā'la k'yi'natxidε<sup>a</sup>.  
he went to hunt. A club he held it is said.  
dēdi xadidexad'ε<sup>a</sup>. tli't'etlo'kyedε  
Marmots he hunted it is said. Twenty  
k'a'etlyε. dēdi a'dεg'ide<sup>a</sup>.  
he clubbed. Then he carried them home it is  
said.  
dēdi tlnog'idε<sup>a</sup>.  
Then he came home carrying them it is said.  
dēdi xiika'. dēdi detse'ε.  
Then he cut them open. Then he skinned  
them.  
dēdi tsya di'yatla. dēdi tsya  
Then the meat he hung up. Then the meat  
ditsatla'. dēdi xidik'ide<sup>a</sup>.  
he dried. Then he came home out of the  
woods it is said.  
mεε g'inago'odε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi  
With him he walked it is said. Then  
xat'a'dedzede<sup>a</sup>. dēdi k'atcu  
he went to look after his traps. Then again  
xaadik'ide<sup>a</sup>. mεε  
he came out of the woods it is said. With him  
g'alogo metsye'tinatε matla'ainodε<sup>a</sup>.  
he went. He ran ahead of his brother-in-  
law.  
matlaxa'mitlyε'. a'hidik'ide<sup>a</sup>.  
His brother-in-law he clubbed He carried him  
him. home it is said.  
k'o' tlnat'adε<sup>a</sup>. maxaana'nedε<sup>a</sup>  
The house he reached it is said. She recognized  
me'dε<sup>a</sup>. spfedε'mε'xa'ε xane'de'tladε<sup>a</sup>.  
him her She cried. She laid them in  
brother (?). a row it is said.  
spfedε<sup>a</sup>. xiixididi'adε<sup>a</sup>. "na'e'da"  
She cried it is said. She sang it "Awake",  
is said,

xiixididi'adε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi tənaxuda'naadε<sup>a</sup>.  
She sang it is said. Then they began to move.  
dēdi tənaxudena'. mεε'd'ε  
Then they moved. They had been dead,  
na'ε'adε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi tsya tsaqale  
they arose again, it is said. Then the next day  
na'ea. dēdi tsya tsaqale'  
they arose. Then the next day  
dōna'eadε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi tlaya naea'xada'.  
again they arose, Then all arose, it is said.  
it is said.  
me'xiinadja. t'a'dedze' ag.adε'.  
She followed them. She walked the woman.  
mekatle'ε mek'adetha'dε'dja. du'ni  
Her husband followed them. The child  
t'a'de'g'edε<sup>a</sup> tina'da'  
she carried on her back, it is said. Up river  
mek'ud'i'xa. adza'xuditxa' xina-  
her house stood. She opened the door, she  
djadε<sup>a</sup>. mek'εnεxa'dε'dja. K'a'ne'  
entered. (Her husband) also entered. A mat  
ne'k'adε<sup>a</sup>. mεk'εε xiinikyε. "k'o't'γε  
wasspread out. On it they twosat down. "Coat  
jsdo'ninitcco'." itla tli'natcco'.  
take it down." Brother-in-law took it down.  
"me'xiininda'." me'xiixadε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi  
"Put it on!" He put it on, it is said. Then  
adets'idε<sup>a</sup>. dēdi xitadε'tledε<sup>a</sup>.  
he became a marmot, it is said. Then he was  
transformed  
it is said.  
mōtccu. adets'idε<sup>a</sup>. ma't'εdεdεbetlε'a.  
His child became May be he became  
a marmot. a marmot.<sup>1</sup>

1. The text is given just as dictated and translated first into Nisqa' (a Tsimshian dialect), then into Chinook jargon. It must not be considered a correct word for word translation. A few obvious emendations have been made by Dr. Goddard.

VOCABULARY OF THE ATHAPASCAN TRIBE OF NICOLA VALLEY,  
BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY FRANZ BOAS.

For the sake of comparison I give the following few words of the Athapascan dialect of Nicola Valley which have been recorded by Mr. J. W. Mackay (M), Dr. George M. Dawson (D) and Mr. James Teit (T). These have been reprinted from my report on the North-western Tribes of Canada, Ipswich Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, pages 551 et seq.

1. T-hach, M., man.
2. Tet'-hutz, D., man.  
Thatc, T., man.
3. Nootl, D., man.
4. Tsik-hi, M.; tsé-a-kai', T., woman.
5. Sass, M.; sus, D.; sas, T., bear (D., grizzly bear).
6. Si-si-aney, M., ram of mountain sheep or big horn; Sis-ya-né', D., big deer of old, either wapiti or caribou; Sisié'ni, T., ewe of mountain sheep; Sesia'ni, T., elk.  
(éshahi'tz, T., elk, probably a corruption of isteha'tz, elk, in Thompson, J. Teit).
7. T-pae or ti-pae, M.; tpi, T., ewe of mountain sheep or big horn.
8. Ti-pi, D., mountain sheep.
8. Tit-pin, T., ram of mountain sheep.
9. Sa-pie, M., trout; si-pai', D.; sipai'i, T., lake trout.
10. Hülhültu'tai, T., a small fish called hulu'liak in Thompson.
11. Taki'nktcin, T., a small fish called eyi'nik in Thompson.
12. Zülke'ke, T., ground hog.
13. Tsho, T., buck of deer.
14. Tlohst-ho, M., snake; klos-ho', D.; stlosho', T., rattlesnake.
15. Tin-ih, M.; tí'neš, tí'nux, T., bear-berry (*Arctostaphylus*).
16. Texo'ztz, T., soap-berry.
17. Notl-ta-hat'-se, D.; notlxa'tzi, T.; xtlona'zi, T., wild currant.
18. Ta-ta-ney, M.; tét-ta-á-né', D.; ta-a'ni, T., knife.
19. Sa-te-tsa-é, M.; sötitsai'i, T., spoon made of mountain-sheep horn; Sit-é-tshi-i', D., spoon.
20. Ska-kil-ih-kane, M., rush mat.
21. Qe, T., bow and arrow.
22. Naltsítse, T., arrow-head.
23. Tlutl, tlotl, T., packing line.
24. Ti-li-tsa-in, M., give me the spoon, or bring me the spoon.
25. N-shote, M., give it to me.  
ətl-tcot, T., I may give you.
26. Pin-a-lé-é-i-itiz, D., look out! or take care!
27. A'we xe, T., come here, child.
28. Apin tlexi i en xain, T., exact meaning unknown, but used like the swearing of the whites.
29. Tasthezu'li a place name.
30. Tizzí'la, a place name.

I have compared these words with Chilcotin and Nétcā'ut'in words, first by asking for the

equivalents of the English words, then by pronouncing the Nicola Valley words. In a number of cases I obtained equivalents which show close correspondence <sup>1</sup>.

| English               | Nicola Valley            | Chilcotin | Nētcā'ut'in  |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| woman                 | tsik-hi, tsē-a-kai'      | tsē'qē    | ts'ē'ku      |
| black bear            | sass, sus, sas           | sās       | sas          |
| ram of mountain sheep | sisis'ni                 | cicia'n   | sriya'n      |
| ewe of mountain sheep | tpai                     | çōpai'    | spai'a       |
| mountain sheep        | ti-pi                    | tō'pi     | —            |
| lake trout            | sipai'i                  | sā'pai    | sapai'       |
| snake                 | tlosxo'                  | tlarasə'n | tlagə's      |
| bear berry            | tī'nəx                   | tī'niχ    | təni'χ       |
| horn                  | (atē)                    | atē'      | atē          |
| arrow                 | qe                       | qa        | k'a          |
| child                 | qe                       | qēi       | —            |
| take it !             | ətltcot (I may give you) | entltcā't | yigē'itltcut |

These agree very closely in the Nicola Valley dialect and in Chilcotin. Only three among these twelve words differ in a manner which cannot well be explained by difference of perception and transcription. They are the following.

| English               | Nicola Valley | Chilcotin | Nētcā'ut'in |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| ewe of mountain sheep | tpai          | çōpai'    | spai'a      |
| snake                 | tlosxo'       | tlarasə'n | tlagə's     |
| lake trout            | sipai'i       | sā'pai    | sapai'      |

Since these three words were collected from more than one individual and by three different collectors, it seems likely that there existed an actual difference between these dialects in regard to these words.

The following words of the Nicola Valley dialect were not understood by either Chilcotin or Nētcā'ut'in when read by me. In a number of cases I obtained the equivalents of the English words in the two last-named dialects.

| Nicola Valley                           | English      | Chilcotin     | Nētcā'ut'in   |
|---|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| t-haeh                                  | man          | tinnē, ta'yan | tine'         |
| te'—hutʒ                                | man          | —             | —             |
| thatc                                   | man          | —             | —             |
| nootl                                   | man          | —             | —             |
| hūlhūtu'tāi                             | a fish       | —             | —             |
| taki'nktcin <sup>2</sup>                | a fish       | —             | —             |
| zūlke'ke                                | ground-hog   | tēti'ny       | tētni'        |
| tsho                                    | buck of deer | nēsi'ny       | yēsts'etine'. |
| teq'otz                                 | soapberry    | nó'ruc        | nawa'c        |
| notl-ta-ha't-se, noltxa'-tzi, xtlona'zi | wild currant | tqaltse'l (?) | —             |
| ta-ta-nēy, tēt-ta-ā-nē, ta-a'-ni        | knife        | palá'         | alí's         |

1. Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1898, pp. 665-6.

2. Probably a Salish term; -tcin, mouth.

| Nicola Valley     | English            | Chilcotin     | Nétcá'ut'in |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|
| tsaē              | spoon              | k'ā'nih       | se'nts'atl  |
| ska-kil-ih-kane   | rush mat           | gult'í's      | hutlō's     |
| naltsi'tse        | arrow-head         | dūntai'       | nū'tai      |
| tlutl             | pack line          | xētlā'nt'iy   | xētlā't'iy  |
| ti-li-tsa-in      | give me the spoon! | nnan tēkā'niχ | —           |
| n-shote           | give it to me!     | nna           | te          |
| pin-a-lē-ē-i--itz | take care!         | sōtsēlnē'tlē  | wó'nli      |
| a'we xe           | come here, child!  | —             | —           |

I have omitted the numerals in this list, because those recorded by Mr. Mackay are not numerals but various words which the informant enumerated as known to him. Many of them agree nearly or quite accurately with

other words of our list. Mr. James Teit, who collected a number of words from the Indians, first called my attention to this fact. The following list shows these agreements.

| Numerals         | Other words                  |
|------------------|------------------------------|
| one, sa-pe       | sa-pie, trout                |
| two, tun-ih      | tin-ih, bear-berry           |
| three, tlohl     | tlutl, pack line (Teit)      |
| four, na-hla-lia | —                            |
| five, e-na-hlē   | —                            |
| six, hite-na-ke  | —                            |
| seven, ne-shote  | n-shote, give it to me!      |
| eight, k-pae     | t-pae, ewe of mountain sheep |
| nine, sas        | sas, bear.                   |

These agreements and the fundamental differences between these numerals and those of all other Athapaskan dialects prove that the translations are due to a misunderstanding.

Although the apparent differences of a small vocabulary like the present have no great weight, I am inclined to think that there was a difference between the Chilcotin and the Nicola Valley dialects. The language was, however, evidently very closely related to the Chilcotin, while it differed more from the Carrier dialects.

Dr. Goddard has added the following remarks. The numbers refer to the wordlist on page 36.

4. Compare Beaver tc'ægε; Wailaki, tcεkget-cāñ; and Navajo, djks, maiden.
5. The usual word, original form probably \*cac.
6. Perhaps related to Navajo, ayani, buffalo.
- 7 and 8. Compare Carrier dæbbi mountain sheep, and Navajo, debe, domestic sheep.
13. Probably means large, used occasionally in other dialects for buck.
14. Hupa, tuw; Navajo P'ic.
21. k'a is the usual form for arrow.
23. P'ot or P'ut, the forms generally found for a line or rope.
15. Hupa, d:nnuw, manzanita, a species of the same genus; White Mountain Apache dinnos.



VOCABULARY OF AN ATHAPASCAN DIALECT  
OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON<sup>1</sup>

BY FRANZ BOAS and PLINY E. GODDARD.

Horatio Hale was the first to report on the Athapascan tribe that used to live south of Puget Sound<sup>2</sup>. Later on Gibbs collected a short vocabulary of the language. In a report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science F. Boas printed Gibbs' manuscript vocabulary together with some new data which he obtained incidentally during a visit to Shoalwater Bay<sup>3</sup>.

Gibbs<sup>4</sup> states in relation to these tribes the following: "Of the Willopah (Kwalhiokwa) or, as they call themselves, Owhillapsh, there are yet, it appears, three or four families living on the heads of the Tsihalis River above the forks. According to an old man, from whom the vocabulary was obtained, the Klatskanai, a kindred band, till lately inhabiting the mountains on the southern side of the Columbia, and now also nearly extinct, formerly owned the prairies on the Tsihalis at the mouth of the Skukumchuk, but, on the failure of game, left the country and crossed the river. Both these

bands subsisted chiefly by hunting." This information was obtained in 1856.

Writing in February, 1856, Gibbs states the result of his inquiries as follows<sup>1</sup>:

"Of the Willopah tribe formerly inhabiting that river and the head waters of the Chihalis, there are, I believe, but two families left; from a man belonging to them I obtained the following:

"He called his people O'whil-lapsh, the termination of which I should, however, judge to be of Chihalis origin. Their territory is called Whilap-a-hai-you. The vocabulary was taken down in some haste, and, besides, being incomplete, is not always altogether correct. Enough, however, is given to afford evidence of its character.

"Mr. Anderson says: 'The Kwal-whee-oqua seem, from what I can learn, to have occupied the Willopah River and its tributaries towards the head of the Chihalis, and to have interlocked with the tribe who inhabited the country bordering on the Elokamin River. Their habits of life seem to have been very similar to those of the Klatskanai — the chase and an interior life for part of the year — resorting to the main rivers at certain periods to secure a supply of salmon.'"

The Klatskanai are probably identical with the Clackstar of Lewis and Clark who located them on the south side of the Columbia River near its mouth. The map of the Wilkes Expedition places them in the same locality.

In 1910 Mr. James Teit visited the former

1. Edited from letters and notes by Mr. Teit by Franz Boas and Pliny E. Goddard. — Unfortunately the manuscript and corrected proofs of the following paper were lost in the mails. At present a revision from the original notes and publications is impossible. Necessary corrections will be published in a later number. — F. B.

2. A Vocabulary of the Tlatskanai and Kwulxiokwa, U.S. Exploring Expedition during the years 1838-1842 under the command of Charles Wilkes, U.S.N. Ethnography and Philology. Philadelphia. Lea and Blanchard, 1846, pp. 570-629.

3. Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, pp. 589-592.

4. Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. I, Washington, 1877, p. 171.

1. See Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1899, p. 59.

home of these tribe while studying the distribution of Salish dialects, and near Cowlitz he succeeded in getting some additional information. In a letter dated June 10, 1910, he writes as follows :

" While working with some old Cowlitz people I learned of a family of Willapa who lived only half a mile away. The family consists of an old woman, her daughter and her grandchildren. I learned from the old woman that as a girl she had spoken only her own language and that her first husband had been a member of her own tribe. She remembered quite a little of the language although she had not spoken it for many years. The family used Cowlitz entirely among themselves. She remembered having heard the people of her tribe telling about earlier times as follows :

" 'A long time ago one man of the tribe was trapping in the mountains and lost his way. As he did not return and could not be found, his relatives concluded that he was dead. However, he had reached the southern bank of the Columbia River, and fell in with another tribe and married there. He had a number of children. After several years he returned to see his people and after staying with them for some time he went back to the country of the tribe among whom he had married, taking a number of his own tribe along. He claimed that the country was favorable and the neighboring tribes were friendly. These people south of the Columbia River were called Tlakatskaneia. '

" The Cowlitz give the same story. They say that at one time some of the Suwa'l, as they call the Athapascan tribe, were lost. Later on a man and a woman of the lost people were met on the Columbia River and recognized.

" According to the Cowlitz, the Willapa formerly inhabited the upper Chehalis and upper Willapa valleys. Their principle camping ground was near a high mountain lékai'eks (Mud Mt.).

The name Suwa'l was applied only to that part of the tribe that occupied the southern and western headwaters of the Chehalis River. The group living on the Willapa River were called by the Suwa'l Wela'pakote'li. They spoke the same language but a slightly different dialect. At certain seasons the Willapa used to go down to the mouth of the river.

" It is said that in former times the neighboring tribes were very hostile to them and that they used to live in underground houses with a number of passages leading out of each house.

" The Suwa'l and the Wela'pakote'li and the Tlakatskaneia were all considered branches of the same tribe. From all information I have gathered, Gibbs extends this tribe too far east and north.

" According to the Satsop, a band of people called Tcutsai'a lived on the Chehalis River, not far above their own territory. They were descendants of the Upper Chehalis and upper Willapa. This is the only trace I found outside of the territory previously described. It seems that later on this band was absorbed by the Upper Chehalis."

In the following paper the material collected by Mr. Teit is given, together with all the previously recorded material. The words collected by Mr. Teit are those first given. Those collected by Gibbs are placed in parentheses and followed by the letter G. Those from Horatio Hale's vocabulary are placed in brackets. In his original vocabulary the words are given in three groups. The first bears no indication of its provenience and it does not appear to which one of the Athapascan tribes of Washington or Oregon it belongs, but it must belong to one or the two tribes here discussed. The second series of words is marked *a*, and these were collected among the Tlatskanai. We have marked them here by a preceding Tl. A third series marked *b* was recorded among the Kwalhioqwa and is marked here by a preceding K.

Powell recognized a third dialect, Owilapsh, which he places with the Kwalhioqwa near the Chehalis River. Gibbs considers this name, Owilapsh, to be the Kwalhioqwa's name for themselves. It is possible that these words unpreceded by *a* or *b* do belong to a third dialect unnamed by Hale.

The name Owilapsh is undoubtedly the name of the Chinook tribe Xwila'pc, who lived on the lower part of the Willolah River. The Chinook called the Athapascan tribe on the Willapa River Tkułxiyogwa'ikc which corresponds to the form Kwalhioqwa given by Hale and Anderson.

- 1 people — xēná'ne, konexa' nn. d. xā, 'konexa' nn. dex
- 2 man — tié'tsen (tee-e't-sun G.) [xanáne; tai'tsen]
- 3 woman — uá'.te (whoo-ah-te G.) [tsévkcia; koát; Tl. tseake]
- 4 old man — sēn.n
- 5 old woman — tsiá'ne (stsiá'né B.)
- 6 young man — ne' sián
- 7 young woman — té'te
- 8 boy — skeié'ē, skiei' (ske-e'h G.) [laiin; K. shiyé; acrkwa-tiitsin]
- 9 girl — as'xá'mēn [tseke'sle; itéit K. skiyéte]
- 10 infant — au'kwa, au'qwa (au-kwa, SON G.) [astóqwe]
- 11 wife — o'a't (s'ah, MY G.) [sikutes- át; Tl. uva't]
- 12 husband — o'k'é'n (s'kuda, MY- G.) [sikskun; K. itítsine; Tl. óxkuvn]
- 13 father — o'tá' (s-tah, MY-, G.) [mama; K. stáa; Tl. wuta, ta]
- 14 mother — wan, o'a'n, o'a'ne (s'ehnah-na, MY-, G.) [naa; K. sna'na; Tl. wunán]
- 15 son — to'xele [sikote-teintsúnusla; K. yaase; Tl. sés]
- 16 daughter — o'sá'tse [síku-tsukásla; K. tzée; Tl. stsée]
- 17 elder brother — s'ónaxē' (s'ohn-a-ré'p, my-G.)
- 18 younger brother — skéite, sgé'té (s'beh-te G.) [brother; suskáctex; K. déetze; sloáne; Tl. sonaka itlétle; citxle]
- 19 elder sister — wá'te, sqāsz
- 20 younger sister — té'tse (s'teh-tse G.) [sister: nuk ska'étsux; K. de'etse; Tl. sultsú stse]
- 21 son-in-law — oxontá'ne
- 22 brother-in-law }  
sister-in-law } o'xé'e  
daughter-in-law }
- 23 grandfather — .stsaei'i
- 24 grandmother — ótso'u
- 25 grandchild — ótsene'e
- 26 chief — kozké'e, owaná'ne (ks-ke'h G.) [kúskai; K. skuske; Tl. kóské]
- 27 shaman — tié'nn
- 28 slave — stee'ē
- 29 Indian — xoná'ne, konexa'n dex (kwun-arunt G.) [Indian people: xanáne]
- 30 white man — ta'tleté'ne
- 31 negro — tlei'z kwoní'zen
- 32 head — wení'n (s'nehn, G.) [xostúma; K. nin; Tl. stsi'e]
- 33 hair — odzex'a' (se'ra'ch, G.) [xotsúsea; K. soaxtlané; Tl. steúse]
- 34 face — utá'ke (s'ta'h-ke forehead, G.) [xonéntsunu]
- 35 eye — uná'xe, wuná'xe (s'nah-rhe', G.) [xonáxai; náxai, suná'ai (my-)]
- 36 eyebrow — woni' tsele (sne'hts-eh-le, G.)
- 37 ear — utsa'xe' [xótsxe; K. xonáde; Tl. stáxai]
- 38 nose — wíts (s'ehts, G.) [xointsus; K. dalainstcétce]
- 39 mouth — o'tá' (s'tah, G.) [xokwaítcaale; wuna'á]
- tongue — [xotcútxlctitxltáha; K. wutáa; Tl. seqínakal]
- 40 tooth — o'o' (soh, TONGUE, se-roh, TEETH, G.) [xostsiakatáxtltsin; K. kóute]

- tongue [xotcu'txlctixltsa'tha; K. wuta'a; Tl. seqina'kal
- 41 throat — wekwe'z
- 42 chin — tcea' tse
- 43 neck — o'kwe's (sguus, G.) [xotesai; K. uningwus; Tl. qous]
- 44 back — wi'ene
- 45 chest — o'tse'i
- 46 belly — otca'n (s'chahn, G.)
- 47 arm — oka'ne (ska'h-ne, G.) [xolaa; K. ka'ane; Tl. sulatxa]
- 48 hand — owella' (se-la' ch, G.) [xolaa; sla]
- 49 finger — oula' [txlaxatasa; K. tcakan-ka'ne]
- 50 leg. — otca'te [xoqwa'ietxa; K. stsate; Tl. stsaxa]
- 51 knee — o'kwit'
- 52 foot — o'xwe', o'xe'e (skeh, FOOT, toes, G.) [xoax'astlsvkais nukatx]
- 53 rib — tca'qe
- 54 blood — til (too'tl, G.) [tutxl; K. otule]
- 55 heart — tsté'i (steh-ye, G.) [xotxlnainv-ksute; K. stseie]f
- 56 lung — qostsxo' ltsxol
- 57 flesh — tsétsi'n (che-chunn)
- 58 sinew — tséx
- 59 brain — dzætse'xa'n
- 60 bone — tsin (tsu'nn G.) [xotsún; K. tcámucho; Tl. tsu'ne]
- 61 corpse, grave — ta'tsitenc
- 62 hat — kwokwo' ldzaz
- 63 blanket — tati'tene
- 64 awl — xwala'in
- 65 chisel — c'te
- 66 hammer — tsá'wit
- 67 axe — kehai'tseltséri (tl'ke-raits'tl-tseh-re, G.) [axe, hatchet kátstun; K. kusétxl maiu]
- 68 knife — tce'ro' (tche-ro'h, KNIFE, IRON G.) téxe; K. tchuhó]
- 69 cup — .shwu'lewit
- 70 plate litézi'rze
- 71 pipe — setzi'ldzedze [wekatsatsaliwa; K. tsapakus]
- 72 tump-line — tlót
- 73 coiled basket — xa'tsa
- 74 woven bag — tceñ'ez
- 75 basket of cedar twigs — tlawó'ze
- 76 red paint — tcis
- 77 song — ta'xuhwoilen
- 78 name — o'ze
- 79 house — kótex (kóte, G.) [kóntux; K. kótax]
- 80 pillow — sotsi'ale
- 81 fire — 'kwén [txlkáne; xtáne]
- 82 smoke — lit
- 83 firewood — kone'ra'n
- 84 bow — tselté'd, tsélté'd (kl-toh-wa) [tu'txl-tohwa; K. tsuttee'; Tl. sapa múne]
- 85 arrow — kre [supumún; tuxltá'we?]
- 86 arrowhead — 'we'ze
- 87 wooden war club — tsát'té'te
- 88 head of fish spear — ta'a'zkle
- 89 shaft of fish spear — tsoqwe'de
- 90 canoe — tse'i (tse'h) [tse, tsei]
- 91 paddle — xeya'wemen, xeá'wemen
- 92 deer — yena'iali (yun-a'hl-yil, G.) [tcésle]
- 93 horse — lin, stéke'u
- 94 grizzly bear — ti'lzené, de' lzene (til-e-zun, G.)
- 95 beaver — nu'nie
- 96 chipmunk — (kwo zé', G.)
- 97 squirrel — kwiu', lkwiu'
- 98 mouse — skelo'ne
- 99 landotter — tciné'ze (che-leh-zie, G.)
- 100 wolf — nina'tele (ne-nah-ta-lie, G.) [nátxleta]
- 101 elk — tcistcex, tce'stcex (t'chest-hu, MALE, G.) [tcutsún]
- 102 rabbit — sqex
- 103 dog — lin, t'lin (klehl, G.) [txlin]
- 104 mink — tamané'rtale
- 105 ground hog — ske'e'ie

- 106 antler — u'te'  
 107 fur — dzEha'  
 108 bluebird — kainastewa'ze  
 109 bluejay — kai'náste  
 110 crow — kuleá'ne  
 111 duck — ká'tckatc  
 112 blue grouse — tE'leméte  
 113 owl — tinai'é-i  
 114 raven — tá'tca, da'dca  
 115 eggshell — dzEé'ze  
 116 frog — swaxa'lxE  
 117 snake — tla'xi'sqz [narose]  
 118 wasp — tziz  
 119 flea — kElka'tlie  
 120 louse — 'ye  
 121 grasshopper — to'tomeks  
 122 mosquito — ts'ai'ek [tsutnakaitci ; tciáse]  
 123 spider — to'pEl  
 124 salmon — tsá'ne [selókwa, txlokwa]  
 125 Chinook salmon — tuo'éi  
 126 sockeye salmon — siló'qe (see-loh-kwa, G.)  
 127 coho salmon — he'i'tle  
 128 steelhead salmon — keité'te  
 129 dog salmon — si'xi (see-ahie, G.)  
 130 tree — tE'ki'n'n [tuku'n ; tsotx]  
 131 branch — tska'netx, 'kit  
 132 leaf — tán  
 133 cambium layer of bark — tsEdze'  
 134 white pine — tsu'we'  
 135 cedar — H'ztz  
 136 fir (common) — .st'ci'n  
 137 willow — teyla'ietcEne  
 138 service-berry — mi' tsoksene (black caps)  
 139 strawberry — né' kone (blackberry ?)  
 140 raspberry — talti'. (thimble berry ?)  
 141 bearberry — skeiwa'n  
 142 grass — Lo'kwa'  
 143 basket grass — dzé'EkE  
 144 cloud — tekuonali  
 145 sky — ye'upkei [iá]  
 146 sun — us'ké'EtE [táuse ; K, scláxlaxa]  
 147 moon — kE'ka'te [táuse]  
 148 star — ka'nesé  
 149 snow — ye'xs [yaxs, iúxus]  
 150 ice — koló' [kwuló ; iúxus]  
 151 water — tú [to]  
 152 rain — ne'ei'arei [nástsehi ; nasti'e,  
 153 thunder — wElalá'xol [tcutnai'ka]  
 154 wind — ni'seé [nátka ; wútsolkaste]  
 155 earth — "ne', we'náné [earth, land, née]  
 156 mud — tai'.qt  
 157 stone — westá'tá, tá'uftcEne [tcéste]  
 158 plain — tsí'x  
 159 creek — xEne'ste  
 160 river — xone' [taséke ; natow'a'ka]  
 161 black — té's [txlsúne ; niakts-tulu'kuse]  
 162 white — i'kwei'.i [itésina ; tcanástoye]  
 163 red — tts'í'.s [txltsóhwe, tcultséuke]  
 164 one — .lé'e [txlié]  
 165 two — na'tke [ntáuke]  
 166 three — tá'kke [táqe]  
 167 four — tí'n'tse [tnútce]  
 168 five — leá'la [tsukwáloe]  
 169 all — wé'taq, wé'tak  
 170 here — 'te', tce'ti'  
 171 there — tcai'é'  
 172 far — we'a'tztzn, ne'a't'z'zEne  
 173 near — tce'tze'  
 174 day — iská'le [xaiitxk'ánte]  
 175 night — ceá'nte [kléakut ; qleakáte]  
 176 dawn — o'lá'xe.st'ká'ne  
 177 sunrise — lo'tke áte  
 178 noon — tse'ntze  
 179 evening, dusk — tceá'nte [yiúx ; iúxut]  
 180 today, now — tce'ti'k [tiktsén ; noqwáale]  
 181 tomorrow — tika'nte [txlokán]  
 182 now — tce'ti'k [tiktsén ; noqwáale].  
 183 by and by — tí'nntxane  
 184 kettle — tceXaná'tkEne [K. tsukuna'tskus]  
 185 gun — tcits'te'  
 186 powder — H't  
 187 coat — ka.po'  
 188 shirt — .stei'laie  
 189 pants — tsetená'kE

- 190 shoes — yelākEMEN [ke; K. natsicai']  
 191 tobacco — SETZE'lDEZE [tutcāne]  
 192 trail — TEN 'é'  
 193 I — si'.k [sik]  
 194 thou — ne'k [nānuk]  
 195 he, she — tcei'-i [iānuk; wtsaie]  
 196 it — (demonstrative used)  
 197 we — konaxi'nnt [naiókwa]  
 198 ye — tān (you all) [noxonek]  
 199 they — kaiū'tek [yinék; koioitúk]  
 200 this — tcé'ti' [titik; teté]  
 201 that — tcei't' [ieié]  
 202 hungry — ti'.tse  
 203 thirsty — tas'la'let  
 204 good — .nzó'ene  
 205 bad — .ntzi'nne  
 206 yes — tāl [anik]  
 207 no — lā'.ke [laatc]  
 208 who, which — tzei'EN [tsai'ena; ienek]  
 209 where — 'xa'n  
 210 when — dai'tcENE  
 211 why — dai'kwai'.ts  
 212 what — dai'tcENE  
 213 high — yu'tkei  
 214 low — .né'tsen  
 215 large — ó'e [wane; selóokwa]  
 216 small — hwé'le [ástekwu]  
 217 long — kā'ke  
 218 old — tsā'nn, 'tši'nn  
 219 alive — tekwo'liane [natxliále]  
 220 dead — ayé'to.i [écisile; a'gai'ntoie]  
 221 summer sqwa'ne  
 222 early autumn (?) EN 'ne'  
 223 tail — u.tcé'  
 224 dentalia — a'xlé'te  
 225 camas — uté'tse  
 226 much, many — tān [txlān]  
 227 true, sure — .flé'ko  
 228 above — yo'tké  
 229 to drink — ta'tENA [ta'ntuna]  
 230 to eat — tse'ato [éatxl]  
 231 to talk, speak — ya'tek, pa'wen  
 232 to weep — tsanENE'lzel  
 233 to sing — ta'xhowoilem, .sta'x'hwelem  
 [taiyénu]  
 234 to laugh — ota'la'ux  
 235 to walk — ti'asso  
 236 thou go away — te'asto  
 237 thou come here — ni'asto, ne'.a.to  
 238 to swim across — nā'awe  
 239 to work — naé'nex  
 240 to lie, tell lies — to tse'te  
 241 bad man, that man is bad — axenā'ne  
 tzi'n'ne  
 242 where are you going — xa'n.ko  
 243 where have you come from — xatsetse-  
 txane'a  
 244 come here, child — ne'astoskan ne'  
 245 give me, give it to me, give it — a.né.to  
 246 take this, take it — i'tcut  
 247 come in, come inside — tanā'tca  
 248 large rush mat — ma'lkotsyEN  
 249 small » » — tla.xó'tzt  
 250 fish-weir — ne'hā'tetse  
 251 cylindrical fish-trap — hwi'a'p  
 252 fish-trap with drop — te'xé'ai.i  
 253 forehead — [xostumai'e; K. konast; Il.  
 snēn]  
 254 beard — [xotamaxaie; stama'iaie]  
 255 — nails — [xoaisultsútle; K. tciléo]  
 256 body — [xonustéa; K. onuste; Tl. su-  
 nuste]  
 257 toes — [xoaxátxlctcune; nukatx]  
 258 town, village — [K. kwunhúntxkot]  
 259 warrior — [K. xoatséite; Tl. lukatú-  
 tkússe]  
 260 friend — [txlhoé; nsone-kanáne]  
 261 morning — [kaíawux; iawax]  
 262 spring — [tānlet; iátské]  
 263 summer — [séntut]  
 264 autumn — [tcitáxat; xlókwu]  
 265 winter — [xaítut]  
 266 lightning — [xltáne-wiy'itsu]  
 267 hail — [tsutsén]  
 268 rea — [noquéakut]  
 269 river — [taséke; natowáka]

270 la  
 271 v  
 272 h  
 273 i  
 274 s  
 275 i  
 276 v  
 277 l  
 278 l  
 279 n  
 280 o  
 281 i  
 282 e  
 283 s  
 284 a  
 285 s  
 286 e  
 287 t  
 288 s  
 289 n  
 290 o  
 291 i  
 292 t  
 293 s  
 294 a  
 295 s  
 296 e

- 270 lake — [múnkat]  
 271 valley — [tayukiltsúte]  
 272 hill — [sus; sustax]  
 273 island — [noquaíktux]  
 274 salt — [nátkawé]  
 275 iron — [texe]  
 276 wood — [tsuts]  
 277 leaf — [iátske]  
 278 bark — [tcilatáutra; skéitxu]  
 279 pine — [taxtsultemónix]  
 280 grass — [txlo; qluxo]  
 281 flesh — [tcutsún]  
 282 bear — [tulsúnu]  
 283 tortoise — [txlokwaitxo]  
 284 fly — [naiaá]  
 285 bird — [tcéwse; tciáse]  
 286 egg — [wuskaiáke]  
 287 feather — [tctsus; tsótsuqu]  
 288 wings — [wiatstutkúse]  
 289 duck — [qloxl]  
 290 sturgeon — [txlokwaitco]  
 291 name — [wóose; wose]  
 292 affection — [wánustsun]  
 293 blue — [entsúse]  
 294 yellow — [sowalatsxu]  
 295 green — [káse; sowalátsxu]  
 296 shong — [ntslútse]
- 297 old — [tsitxiaian; satánk (longago); tsatákote]  
 298 young — [tcíle; qánqute (new); teneuai (young)]  
 299 good — [nusón; tcucé]  
 300 bod — [latsúte]  
 301 cold — [kwatsaxútowa; kóskutse]  
 302 warm — [txlokwúne; wulá]  
 303 all — [aátxl]  
 304 near — [xunét; pukáti]  
 305 yesterday — [kantún]  
 306 six — [kwustánahe]  
 307 seven — [cóstcita]  
 308 eight — [tcániwaha]  
 309 nine — [txléweet]  
 310 ten — [kwunécin]  
 311 twenty — [nat-kwanéce]  
 312 thirty — [takt-kwanéce]  
 313 one hundred — [kwanécan-tkwanése]  
 314 to run — [teltxlá]  
 315 to sleep — [xexkóle]  
 316 to speak — [auwitxltúne]  
 317 to see — [xaiin]  
 318 to kill — [nuinétxlxwaa]  
 319 to sit — [nintsat]  
 320 to stand — [nilkus]  
 321 to go — [tánas]  
 322 to come — [nánas]

THE MUSKHOGEAN CONNECTION OF THE NATCHEZ LANGUAGE<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN R. SWANTON.

When French explorers and missionaries first penetrated the territory now constituting the states of Louisiana and Mississippi, the Natchez Indians were living along St. Catherines Creek near the city which now bears their name. They at once attracted the attention of the Whites, partly from the fact that they were the largest single body of Indians close to the Mississippi River, but still more on account of their apparent superiority in culture, their highly developed theocratic government, and the sanguinary rites accompanying the funeral ceremonies of their chiefs and nobles. Later the attention of writers upon Louisiana and upon American Indians generally was further riveted to them by the massacre of the entire French settlement in their neighborhood which they perpetrated in November, 1729, and by the war which followed. By many it was believed that they had had an origin distinct from that of the other Indian tribes of the Gulf region, either in the Old World or some portion of South or Central America. A sober review of everything that is known about the Natchez has dissipated most of these earlier views, but the tribe is still interesting because it may represent peoples who once played a much more prominent part in the history of the Southeast.

A connection between the Natchez language and Creek was suggested by Bartram in his volume of *Travels*, published originally in 1791, on the authority of Indian traders, and was again referred to as a possibility by

Schoolcraft in 1852. Gallatin, however, treated them as entirely distinct, and it was left for Dr. Daniel G. Brinton to make the first serious affirmation of such a relationship based on actual comparisons. In 1867 he had, indeed, suggested a connection with the Huastec dialect of Maya, but in 1873, with fuller information available, he gave this up and supported his later view with about forty comparisons. Dr. A. S. Gatschet, declined to accept this as conclusive and Natchez, along with Taensa, was given an independent place in the Powellian classification of North American languages as the "Natchesan stock".

In 1906 the present writer began an examination of the four then existing Natchez vocabularies, those of Gallatin, published in 1835, Gen. Albert Pike, collected in 1861, Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, 1873, and Dr. Gatschet, 1885. He was soon convinced of the correctness of Dr. Brinton's opinion and so expressed himself in an article entitled "Ethnological Position of the Natchez Indians", published in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 513-528. This paper professed to be nothing more than provisional, and in his later publication on "Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico" (*Bulletin* 43, B. A. Ethn. 1911) he promised to furnish more complete proof at a later time. The present paper is published for the purpose of making that promise good.

When the material for this study was first assembled, I had just been engaged in an investigation of the Koasati dialect of the Muskho-gean stock and consequently chose that for

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primary comparison with Natchez. Later I undertook a similar investigation of the Hitchiti dialect and many new points came to light, both of divergence and agreement. Therefore Hitchiti examples were added to those drawn from Koasati. A few examples have also been cited from Creek or Muskogee and Choctaw, and it is highly probable that a careful comparison of these languages and Natchez would markedly reinforce the conclusion arrived at in this paper, but, not having made a sufficiently thorough study of those two better known branches of the Muskogean family of languages, I have not drawn upon them heavily. The case appears to me sufficiently strong without appealing to them. For my comparison of independent stems I have utilized material from my Alabama vocabularies, and I have added Alabama to supplement or alternate with Koasati in other parts of the discussion. The earlier vocabularies of Natchez have been considerably increased by my own material, collected in 1908 and the years following.

#### DIFFERENT ASPECT OF THE TWO LANGUAGES.

One of the interesting points brought out in this investigation is the fact that languages may be related although on first inspection they show few resemblances. For that reason I will begin the discussion by juxtaposing sections of the well-known story of the "Bungling Host" from the Natchez and Koasati tongues. While these are not word for word translations, they cover practically the same episodes and the wording would naturally be much the same. Although I have a version of this story in Hitchiti, it is impossible to select a part that can be advantageously compared with the others.

#### NATCHEZ

Itc'ya etgá'cax    cū'xdik    cub'itini    tsōgō-  
the rabbit visiting    started when going to the

bā'yax    gacicá'xgū.    In'ts yá'ctik baiyi'ci-  
bear's    he came    breast side of he cut

cūk né'xgwa    gāhū'cili. Māk'dí'ne itc'ya  
himself grease poured in    then the rabbit

gāginicū'cgū.    Lēwēcuyē'ne    māk'de  
ate    when he was through    then

gawí't    gí'nax    gwenā'yine    mǎé'tbacá'xgudzi'  
the day    4th    tomorrow you must visit me

hicū'k gacū'xdí. Alé'nax wite'    gwencū'k  
he said he started    now that day having come

dzō'gōba itcō'yā'gūic    gācū'xdine  
the bear at the rabbit's    when he arrived

baihá'ic tsādi'xcáí    í'cáha<sup>n</sup>    olō'cūguk in'ts  
knife he sharpened over he stooped breast

iyā'ctek baiicū'ne mī'yák    hí'cána  
side of when he slit me    he was saying

ōmhá'nū    dzák'    cōáxbí'ci    hicū'k' gā-  
doctor you go and hunt for him he said and

cū'xdí    wáldēcū'ne    ó'ci dom' cīí  
he started after a while    buzzard man old

gāgá'caya.  
he brought with him

#### KOASATI

Mǎ' min    nitá'k    ōnká'k    ōxtabi'neles  
then    the bear    said come and visit me

gā'hōk    até'yatōhōn    tcō'k-  
he said &    when he had gone the

fikōk até'yak    ó'xān    nitá'kōk    elēpitá'f-  
rabbit started and arrived the bear    cut a

ōk    nihá'    mǎtpe'lok    sawe'-  
slit into himself    fat    picked it out he

tcin e'patōhō'limpáts. Ma'mō'sin    tcū'kfikōk  
fried it -he ate    then    the rabbit

ōnká'k isnō'k    amōlá's    gā'hatōn  
said you come to me    when he had said

nitá'kók ibinele'k ó'xlán tcu'kfikók ilepitá'f-  
 the bear to visit arrived the rabbit having  
 tōhōn ná'suk i'ksótōhōn nita'k  
 cut a slice in himself thing was not bear  
 a'lók ilepitá'fók sawē'tcin ché'patōs  
 much cut himself and fried it they ate  
 mǎfō'gáp tcūkfikōk ilá'heman  
 then that done the rabbit was almost dead  
 tá'min alé'ktcun hōwehile'k yūmá'x-  
 lay doctor they hunted they  
 tōhōk sai'ikun hōtōhá'non sai'-  
 travelled about buzzard they sent for the buz-  
 ikek ó'ngāk.  
 zard said.

I venture to say that there is very little in these two quotations to suggest a relationship between the languages concerned. Even on a rather close examination né'xgwa, grease, and niha, fat, are about all that would indicate a connection. The divergence may be reenforced by the following comparative vocabulary :

| ENGLISH     | NATCHEZ  | KOASATI   | HITCHITI            |
|-------------|----------|-----------|---------------------|
| above       | icaha    | ába       | abi                 |
| metal, iron | nalk'    | ōtcuna    | kōtcuni             |
| grandmother | necte    | abōk      | —                   |
| to laugh    | nets     | áfa       | háya, pile          |
| medicine    | ōm       | áhisi     | áyiktci             |
| knife       | baihálic | áksale    | iskaláfkci          |
| you (affix) | ba-      | tcī-, is- | tcī-, -icka         |
| to plant    | pā       | ātcī      | —                   |
| grandfather | tāti'    | āwō       | fōsi                |
| to be glad  | cék      | áyukpa    | áfāt                |
| briar       | ōnōxk    | báktco    | báktci              |
| to want     | gūc      | bána      | bána, alōsti,<br>ak |
| to take     | tīx      | isi       | isi                 |
| to dance    | gōyō     | bit       | tálwa               |
| to kill     | da       | ēbi       | ili                 |
| at          | -k'      | -fá       | —                   |

|            |       |      |         |
|------------|-------|------|---------|
| to abandon | hōm'  | fai  | hān(tc) |
| bee        | mōm   | fōe  | hufi    |
| bird       | cōgōl | fōsi | fōsi    |
| trail      | ō     | hini | hini    |

The striking differences between Natchez and the Muskogean dialects proper now being laid before the reader we will proceed to that closer comparison which shows that the two are, nevertheless, related.

#### PHONETICS.

The phonetic characters used in recording the dialects handled in this paper are not the result of a painstaking analysis. They are simply of the rough and ready type similar to that adopted by the missionaries. While a more intensive study along this line will no doubt bring out certain points of contrast and agreement not here recorded, I believe none of them will have the value of those which I have actually noted.

Both Natchez and the dialects of Muskogean with which it is here compared are vocalic, with clusters of more than two consonants uncommon and the consonant-vowel-consonant type of stem the prevailing one. The Natchez recorded by me shows a tendency to voiced sounds, *b*, *d*, *g*, and *dʒ*, while the Muskogean dialects proper incline to *p*, *t*, *k*, and *tc*, but the Natchez tendency, as well as the use of *dʒ* and *ts* instead of *dj* and *tc* may probably be attributed to the influence of Cherokee, for it is not observable, — to the same extent at least, — in the vocabularies collected by Mrs. Robertson, Pike and Gatschet from the Creek band of Natchez. On the other hand there is a difference even among the Muskogean, since it is a matter of remark to the Creeks that the Lower towns tended to unvoiced sounds and the Upper towns to the voiced ones corresponding. The use of *sh* (*c*) in Natchez rather than *s* cannot be explained in this manner, but both sounds

occur in  
 ma and K  
 cult to o  
 of the ab  
 lacks an j  
 pear in C  
 can be li  
 His mist  
 ciation o  
 material  
 was at th  
 who use  
 unvoiced  
 to be wa  
 per.

A con  
 chez ste  
 ti stems  
 not cert  
 in Natch  
 gether.  
 ed with  
 languag

Natch  
 l c m  
 Koas  
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occur in Choctaw, and perhaps also in Alabama and Koasati, although there they are difficult to distinguish. More important than any of the above is the fact that Natchez wholly lacks an *f* sound. Such a sound does indeed appear in Gatschet's Natchez vocabulary but there can be little doubt that he erred in using it. His mistake may have been owing to the enunciation of the one old man from whom his material was obtained and from the fact that he was at the same time working with the Creeks who use it constantly. Finally Natchez uses an unvoiced *m'* and an unvoiced *n'* which seem to be wanting in the Muskhocean dialects proper.

A comparison of initial sounds in 1029 Natchez stems, 564 Koasati stems, and 560 Hitchiti stems shows the following results. As it is not certain that there are distinct *b* and *p* sounds in Natchez, *b* and *p* stems have been placed together. Natchez *g*, *d*, *dʒ*, and *c* must be compared with the *k*, *t*, *tc*, and so on of the other languages.

Natchez : *g* (and *k*) *d dz a h i b-p w o l c m y n t*

Koasati : *a b-p h t tc o i k s l n f m w y t*

Hitchiti : *h b-p a tc t k o s w i f l n y t m*

Natchez thus employs *g* in initial position much more frequently than the others, and *b-p* much less; but otherwise there are no striking differences. *t* occurs initially in only one instance in Natchez, while the Muskhocean dialects proper employ it a considerable number of times. Yet, as shown in these lists, it stands at the bottom in Koasati and next to the bottom in Hitchiti.

A harmonic change takes place in the vowel of one of the Natchez plural affixes in agreement with the vowel preceding, as; *holoh'cilük*, they climbed up; *düh'cidä'xnük*, they had a fight; *dzihi'cügük*, they fell about; *henehéä'n-*

*gik*, they thought he was dirty. Nothing of this kind has been observed in the other Muskhocean languages.

In Natchez *n* changes to *m* before *p* or *b* but not before *m*, while in the other languages *n* changes to *m* before *p*, *b*, *m*, and certain vowels. Examples :

NATCHEZ : *gimä'cgwan*, he is eating; *gimbanä'cgwan*, you are eating; *cü'böbaix*, he handled it and *ca'mböbaix*, he is handling it (*m* = the continuative *n*); *gimma'igübic*, stingy.

KOASATI : *tcin'kalas*, I give you, *istä'mbakte'djik* *tcös*, he maltreats me always; *mi'kö*, chief, *i'mmikö*, his chief; *imasil'hatcék*, he asked her; *é'sa*, house, *ime'sa*, his house.

In Natchez the volitional suffix *-li* frequently changes to *-t*, apparently when the ending would otherwise be *-lik*, as: *dahä'lic*, to strike, *dä'dat*, I strike. This change also appears in some other words, as: *wä'ldü*, town, given in contracted form as *wät*.

In the other Muskhocean dialects this shift is much less conspicuous but seems to occur occasionally, as in Koasati *pe'lit*, he took and, *ipe'ts*, come and get!

### REDUPLICATION

NATCHEZ. Simple duplication of the verb or adjective stem with distributive meaning is common, the thought being, "he wanted, wanted", "he ate ate", etc. Examples: *hi'ci lük*, he put it in, *hüh'cilük*, he put them in; *kahä'p*, white, *käbakahä'p*, spotted with white.

KOASATI. Duplication is employed in about the same degree but the stem doubled is accompanied by a connective suffix, the thought being, "he wanted and wanted", "he ate and ate", etc. Examples: *ba'natohölimpäts*, he wanted (to go); *banä'tbanatö'hölimpäts*, he wanted (to go) very much, he wanted and wanted to go.

HITCHITI. Duplication occurs rarely except

with adjectives where it seems to be confused with the plural affix *hō*. Examples : *tcí'kti* (sing.) *tciktciti* (pl.), thick ; *bātcki*, *batcbōki*, long ; *patcākfi*, *patcakpōfi* or *patcakpāfi*, flattened ; *hāmpi*, *hāmhōpi*, bad.

| ENGLISH              | NATCHEZ  | KOASATI   | HITCHITI  |
|----------------------|--|---|---|
| to sit, to live      | <i>dzi</i> (sing.)<br><i>dukci</i> (dual)<br><i>gō</i> (pl.) | <i>tcōkō</i> (sing.)<br><i>tcíki</i> (dual and pl.) | <i>tcōkō</i> (sing.)<br><i>wíka</i> (dual)<br><i>ití</i> (pl.)  |
| to run               | <i>gwát</i> (sing.)<br><i>hēget</i> (pl.)                    | <i>wále</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>tōt</i> (pl.)    | <i>híni</i> (sing.)<br><i>pálak</i> (dual)<br><i>mūta</i> (pl.) |
| to start to go       | <i>āxti</i> (sing.)<br><i>āksi</i> (dual)<br><i>bē</i> (pl.) | <i>alā</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>āmā</i> (pl.)     | <i>afā</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                                |
| to go about, to walk | <i>bit</i> (sing.)<br><i>wē</i> (pl.)                        | <i>āya</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>nōwa</i> (pl.)    | <i>āya</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                                |
| to lie (position)    | <i>dzī</i> (sing.)<br><i>hōli</i> (pl.)                      | <i>tala</i> (sing., dual, pl.)                      | <i>tala</i> (sing. and<br>dual pl.)                             |
| to fly               | <i>wit</i> (sing.)<br><i>bēget</i> (pl.)                     | <i>wai</i> (ga) (s., dual, pl.)                     | <i>yāka</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                               |
| to come              | <i>cáxgū</i> (sing.)<br><i>báta</i> (pl.)                    | <i>onti</i> (sing., dual, pl.)                      | <i>onti</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                               |
| to help              | <i>āox</i> (sing.)<br><i>awa</i> (pl.)                       | <i>awēx</i> (?)                                     | <i>āsa</i> (sing., dual,<br>pl.)                                |

#### CLASSES OF VERBAL STEMS

**NATCHEZ.** There are two classes of verb stems which I call, from the positions occupied by them in the verb complex, primary and secondary. The former never occur independently of the latter, but the latter may occur independently of the former. The secondary stems are relatively few in number, the principal being the verbs meaning : to be, to go, to hit by shooting, to drink, to bring, to shoulder, to find, to rain, to give, to kill, to want, to breathe, to think, to sleep, to shoot, to touch, to come, to eat, to sit, to lie (position), to have, to know, to be gone, to die, to meet, to tell.

**KOASATI.** A similar division of stems occurs in this language but it is not so prominent and, as yet, only a few secondary stems have been

#### DISTINCT VERB STEMS FOR SINGULAR AND PLURAL OR SINGULAR, DUAL AND PLURAL

The following cases have been noted :

| ENGLISH              | NATCHEZ  | KOASATI   | HITCHITI  |
|----------------------|--|---|---|
| to sit, to live      | <i>dzi</i> (sing.)<br><i>dukci</i> (dual)<br><i>gō</i> (pl.) | <i>tcōkō</i> (sing.)<br><i>tcíki</i> (dual and pl.) | <i>tcōkō</i> (sing.)<br><i>wíka</i> (dual)<br><i>ití</i> (pl.)  |
| to run               | <i>gwát</i> (sing.)<br><i>hēget</i> (pl.)                    | <i>wále</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>tōt</i> (pl.)    | <i>híni</i> (sing.)<br><i>pálak</i> (dual)<br><i>mūta</i> (pl.) |
| to start to go       | <i>āxti</i> (sing.)<br><i>āksi</i> (dual)<br><i>bē</i> (pl.) | <i>alā</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>āmā</i> (pl.)     | <i>afā</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                                |
| to go about, to walk | <i>bit</i> (sing.)<br><i>wē</i> (pl.)                        | <i>āya</i> (sing. and dual)<br><i>nōwa</i> (pl.)    | <i>āya</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                                |
| to lie (position)    | <i>dzī</i> (sing.)<br><i>hōli</i> (pl.)                      | <i>tala</i> (sing., dual, pl.)                      | <i>tala</i> (sing. and<br>dual pl.)                             |
| to fly               | <i>wit</i> (sing.)<br><i>bēget</i> (pl.)                     | <i>wai</i> (ga) (s., dual, pl.)                     | <i>yāka</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                               |
| to come              | <i>cáxgū</i> (sing.)<br><i>báta</i> (pl.)                    | <i>onti</i> (sing., dual, pl.)                      | <i>onti</i> (sing.,<br>dual, pl.)                               |
| to help              | <i>āox</i> (sing.)<br><i>awa</i> (pl.)                       | <i>awēx</i> (?)                                     | <i>āsa</i> (sing., dual,<br>pl.)                                |

identified. These are : to be, to arrive coming, to kill, to eat, to say, to see, and perhaps to travel, to think, and to be angry.

**HITCHITI.** A trace of the above division occurs, but only a few doubtful cases of secondary stems may be cited such as *bi*, to whip ; *hōp*, to bury ; *kā*, to say ; *kā*, to give ; (*i*)*bā*, to eat.

#### INFIXATION

**NATCHEZ.** Only two or three cases of infixation have been observed, viz : *idogō*, to be all gone, *icidendōgōcik*, they 2 had used it all up ; *gāū'waxlé'cála*, he cooked it, " she put it on the fire " (*ga*- being the past temporal prefix) ; and perhaps *gāimā'waxlaoxcitá'nila*, they 2 followed him (*imāwax* by itself being an adverb meaning " after " ).

KOASATI. There appear to be a larger number in Koasati, as : *āl*, to think, *astē'lōk*, you think ; *alō(s)*, to want, *astē'lōk*, you want ; *ibi*, to kill, *isbilāhōs*, you can kill it ; *īla*, to arrive coming, *islōk*, you come.

HITCHITI. Cases of infixation of a certain kind are still more common. Examples : *apōni*, to speak, *apōsnigas*, we speak ; *ōla*, to arrive coming, *ōsligas*, we arrive coming ; *nutci*, to sleep, *nustci'gas*, we sleep : *āfa*, to catch, *āsfalis*, I catch them ; *hīti*, good, *hīsti*, good things.

### NOMINAL INCORPORATION

NATCHEZ. The incorporated noun takes the place of the primary stem, and a secondary stem is always used with it. Examples : *tsetcā-nā'cine*, when it would clog (or " dirt ") up ; *ūwax*, fire, *ūwaxheluic*, to make a fire.

KOASATI. The few cases so far discovered are of the same character but all of them take the secondary stem *o*. Examples : *taiyi*, woman, *i'tcō-laiyō's*, it is a deer woman ; *intati*, his father, *mōk intā'tōtōn*, that one is his father.

HITCHITI. The usage is practically identical with that in Koasati. Examples : *īlki*, father, *īlkōlis*, I am the father ; *miki*, chief, *mikō'lis*, I am the chief ; *tcōkfi*, rabbit, *tcōkfōtckaka*, you rabbit, " you who are the rabbit " ; *ayikcti*, medicine, *āmayikctōmahin*, they made medicine for me ; *hasi*, sun, *imahasōbebuk*, he was sunning himself.

### ORDER OF PROMOMINAL AFFIXES

Following is the order of pronominal affixes in the three languages with the order in Choctaw added :

#### 1. TWO-STEM COMPLEX.

| NATCHEZ                      |                                |   |               |                |                                       |               |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| primary stem                 | plural sign                    | pronom. subj.                                 | dual sign     | pronom. obj.   | secondary stem                        | indirect obj. |
| KOASATI                      |                                |   |               |                |                                       |               |
| pronom. subj. 3d pers. pl.   | pronom. obj. (dir. and indir.) | primary stem                                  | pronom. subj. | secondary stem | (pronom. subj. 1st pers. sing.)       |               |
| HITCHITI                     |                                |   |               |                |                                       |               |
| pronom. obj. (dir. & indir.) | primary stem                   | pronom. subj. except in 1st pers. sing. & pl. |               | secondary stem | (pronom. subj. 1st pers. sing. & pl.) |               |

#### 2. ONE-STEM COMPLEX

| NATCHEZ       |                  |                |   |                         |
|---------------|------------------|----------------|---|-------------------------|
| subject.      | pl. & dual signs | direct obj.    | secondary stem  | indirect obj.           |
| KOASATI       |                  |                |   |                         |
| object        | pronom. subj.    | secondary stem |   | (subj. 1st pers. sing.) |
| HITCHITI      |                  |                |   |                         |
| object        | secondary stem   |                | pronominal subj.  |                         |
| CHOCTAW       |                  |                |   |                         |
| pronom. subj. | secondary stem   |                | (in 1st pers. sing. pronom. subj. after secondary stem) |                         |

## PRONOMINAL CATEGORIES

The following table shows how the pronom-

inal categories are constituted in the three languages under discussion :

|                                 | NATCHEZ                | KOASATI   | HITCHITI   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------|--|
| SINGULAR                        |                        |           |  |
| 1st pers. subj. trans.          | 1 a }                  |           |  |
| » » » cond.                     | 1 b }                  | 1 x       | 1  |
| 2d pers. subj.                  | 2                      | 2 x       | 2 x  |
| 3d pers. subj. direct           | 3 a }                  |           |  |
| » » » indir.                    | 3 b }                  | —         | —  |
| 1st pers. obj. direct           | 4 x                    | 4 x       | 4 x  |
| » » » indir.                    | 4 y (+ 5)              | 4 y (+ 5) | 4 y (+ 5)  |
| 2d » »                          | 2                      | 2 y       |  |
| 3d » »                          | —                      | 3 x       | 3 x  |
| sign of indirect obj.           | 5                      | 5         | 5  |
| DUAL AND PLURAL                 |                        |           |  |
| sign of dual                    | 6                      | ?         | 6  |
| sign of plural                  | 7 a & 7 b              | 7 d       | 7 d  |
| 1st pers. subj.                 | 1 + 6 (d.), 1 + 7 (p.) | 1 y       | 8 + 6 (d.), 8 + 7 d (d.), 8 + 6 + 7 d (p.), 8 + 7 c (p.) |
| 2d pers. subj.                  | 2 + 6 (d.), 2 + 7 (p.) | 2 z       | 2 x + 6 (?), 2 x + 7 d                                   |
| 3d » »                          | 3 + 6 (d.), 3 + 7 (p.) | 7 c       | 7 c  |
| 1st » obj.                      | 4 + 7                  | 9         | 9  |
| 2d » »                          | 2 + 7                  | 2 y + 7 d | 2 y + 6, 2 y + 6 + 7 d                                   |
| 3d » »                          | 3 + 7                  | 3 x + 7 d | 3 x + 6, 3 x + 6 + 7 d                                   |
| reciprocal sign                 | 10                     | 10        | 10   |
| reflexive »                     | 11                     | 11        | 11   |
| medial »                        | —                      | —         | 12   |
| indefinite obj.                 | 13                     | 13 (+ 5)  | 13 (+ 5)   |
| prefix meaning<br>« something » | 14                     | 13 (+ 5)  | 13 (+ 5)   |

This does not attempt to indicate actual resemblances between the three dialects but to show what features are shared in common. The stem numbered 1 in Natchez occurs in the first person subjective singular, dual, and plural, the 1 of Koasati is also so employed, the 1 of Hitchiti occurs only in the singular. Neither, however, is identical in form with that used in Natchez. As there are two forms of the subjective affix in Natchez they have been discriminated as 1 a and 1 b, and in Koasati the forms employed in singular and plural differ some-

what and are therefore distinguished as 1 x and 1 y. The same is true in other cases, a and b indicating different but coordinate forms and c and d, x, y, and z related but slightly variant forms ; d, and p, signify dual and plural respectively.

It will thus be seen that Natchez differs from Koasati and Hitchiti in having two forms for the first person singular and two for the third person singular subjective, in using a distinct affix for the last person and number and omitting the corresponding objective of the third

person  
opposi  
recipro  
fers fr  
the fin  
person  
dial aff  
panied  
third  
approa  
that se  
is base

C

Nat  
noun-  
In Na  
are us  
Natch  
tense  
Koasa  
a neg  
has o  
tive s  
fixed  
and F  
are ne  
of suc  
const  
mean  
fixed  
and th  
apa,  
sati a  
not fo  
to be  
and i  
" to  
Eac  
fixes  
are sh  
mark

person (while Koasati and Hitchiti do just the opposite), and in having only one affix to cover reciprocal and reflexive relations. Hitchiti differs from Koasati in not employing a form of the first person singular subjective in the first person plural subjective and in employing a medial affix. But since this latter feature is accompanied by the appearance of a real affix in the third person singular subjective it marks an approach toward Natchez. It should be added that some few of the facts on which this table is based are debatable.

#### CATEGORIES OTHER THAN PRONOMINAL

Natchez, Koasati, and Hitchiti each has a noun-forming prefix very general in character. In Natchez and Koasati the demonstratives are used as prefixes; in Hitchiti they are not. Natchez is peculiar in prefixing two of its tense signs, while all of the tense signs in Koasati and Hitchiti are suffixed. Natchez has a negative prefix and a negative suffix; Hitchiti has one negative suffix; Koasati has one negative suffix and one negative consisting of a prefixed portion and a suffixed portion. Koasati and Hitchiti have locative prefixes, though they are not numerous. In Natchez there is a trace of such a series of prefixes but they are not constant features of the language. The verbs meaning "to go" and "to come" are prefixed to other verbs in Koasati and Hitchiti,—and the same is true in Chitimacha and Atakapa,—but this is not done in Natchez. Koasati and Hitchiti have an instrumental prefix not found in Natchez, but this prefix is known to be a contraction of the verb "to take", and its use corresponds to the use of the verbs "to go" and "to come" just mentioned.

Each of the three languages has a pair of suffixes which I call neuter and volitional. They are sharply contrasted in Natchez but not so markedly in the other two tongues. In Natchez

the following time relations are expressed: present, present emphatic, assured futurity, potential or dubitative occurrence, and remote occurrence. Most of these are also represented in Koasati and Hitchiti and probably more. Imperatives lack special affixes in Natchez and Koasati but in Hitchiti an *-s* suffix occurs normally and sometimes a suffix *-ts*. In Natchez and Koasati interrogation is indicated by the use of special words; in Hitchiti there is an interrogative suffix. In all three languages most verbal nouns are formed by means of suffixes. Hitchiti differs from the other two in using the adjective meaning "good" as a verbal suffix with the significance of "very". When a series of verbs occur in Hitchiti, each requiring the same subjective pronominal suffix, the suffix is omitted from all except the last. This peculiarity is not found in Natchez and has not been found as yet in Koasati. All three languages again agree in employing a small number of characteristic suffixes to connect verbs, and at least two of them, Natchez and Koasati, in the use of a nominal suffix meaning "the first", as "the rabbit first", etc.

#### SENTENCE STRUCTURE.

Natchez, Koasati, and Hitchiti all have independent pronouns and independent reflexive pronouns. In Natchez the possessive pronominal adjectives follow the noun; in Koasati and Hitchiti they precede. In Natchez nouns take a plural and a distributive suffix; in the other two forms of speech there is but one corresponding suffix. In all of these languages the articles are suffixed to both nouns and clauses. In all of them again there is a diminutive suffix after nouns, but only in Natchez does it appear after verbs. The Natchez numeral series contains cardinals, ordinals, numeral adverbs distributives, inclusives, and duplicatives, all formed by means of suffixes. The first four

of these series, and probably the others, are found in Hitchiti. They are also formed for the most part by means of suffixes though in addition there is a considerable use of the instrumental prefix. The Koasati numeral system has not been studied intensively but is probably the same as in Hitchiti. In Natchez there is a series of locative suffixes widely employed after nouns, adjectives, postpositions, and sometimes verbs. Similar locative suffixes occur in Koasati but there seem not to be as many, and this device is developed rather less noticeably in Hitchiti. Natchez nouns are connected by means of a set of suffixes or particles distinct

from those used with verbs while in Koasati and Hitchiti they are united by means of the verbal connective suffixes. It should be added, however, that Muskogee seems to resemble Natchez in this particular. The three languages agree again in binding together clauses by means of connective suffixes or independent conjunctions, which latter are frequently verb complexes modified for the purpose. The remaining structural features are similar in all three languages.

The order of elements in the verb complex of each of the languages under consideration may be given as follows :

## NATCHEZ

|                |           |                   |             |          |          |           |           |                |              |         |           |            |           |                    |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|
| noun form pre. | dem. pre. | tense pre. & neg. | indef. pre. | 1st stem | pl. pre. | sub. pre. | du. & pl. | pro. obj. pre. | neut. & vol. | 2d stem | ind. obj. | sign. ind. | neg. suf. | tense & conn. suf. |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|--------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|

## KOASATI

|                 |            |               |           |                  |                    |          |         |                 |             |              |         |           |          |            |            |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|----------|---------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|
| stems of motion | inst. pre. | pl. sub. pre. | loc. pre. | dem. & pro. obj. | neg. pre. & indef. | 1st stem | 2d stem | p. neg. & subj. | pro. & vol. | neut. & vol. | 2d stem | neg. sub. | pro. 1st | tense suf. | conn. suf. |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|----------|---------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|

## HITCHITI

|                 |            |           |           |           |          |                          |              |         |           |                |            |            |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|------------|------------|
| stems of motion | inst. pre. | ind. obj. | dir. obj. | loc. pre. | 1st stem | dual. 3d pl. & adj. suf. | neut. & vol. | 2d stem | neg. sub. | sub. 1st pers. | tense pre. | conn. pre. |
|-----------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|--------------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|------------|------------|

## LEXICAL RESEMBLANCES

## I. AFFIXES

In order to place the problem of pronominal

resemblances frankly before the reader I will begin by inserting a complete comparative table of the pronominal affixes in the three languages.

|            | NATCHEZ        |      |              | KOASATI |      |         |        | HITCHITI |         |
|------------|----------------|------|--------------|---------|------|---------|--------|----------|---------|
|            | sub.           | obj. | ind. o.      | sub.    | obj. | ind. o. | sub.   | obj.     | ind. o. |
| SINGULAR   |                |      |              |         |      |         |        |          |         |
| 1st person | { ya-<br>da- } | ni-  | -dzi         | -le     | tca- | an-     | -le    | tca-     | an-     |
| 2d pers.   | ba-            | b-   | -pci         | his-    | tci- | tcin-   | -itcka | tcī-     | tcin-   |
| 3d pers.   | { i-<br>c- }   | —    | { —<br>—ci } | —       | i-   | in-     | —      | i-       | in-     |



| NATCHEZ                                      |                               | KOASATI                         |                            |                   | HITCHITI |          |                  |                   |        |
|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|------------------|-------------------|--------|
| sub.   | obj.                          | ind. o.                         | sub.                       | obj.              | ind. o.  | sub.     | obj.             | ind. o.           |        |
| DUAL   |                               |                                 |                            |                   |          |          |                  |                   |        |
| 1st pers. { yadán- }<br>{ dadán- }           |                               | }                               | expressed<br>by the plural |                   |          |          | -iga             | po-               | pōn-   |
| 2d pers. badán-                              |                               |                                 |                            |                   |          |          | -itcka           | tci-s             | tcin-s |
| 3d pers. { idán- }<br>{ cidán- }             |                               |                                 |                            |                   |          |          | -ho              | i-s               | in-s   |
| PLURAL                                       |                               |                                 |                            |                   |          |          |                  |                   |        |
| 1st pers. { yab-, haya- }<br>{ dab-, hada- } | (nibi- ?)<br>ha — ni          | bu-dz }<br>he-dz }              | hil- }<br>kō- }<br>kōn- }  |                   |          | -s-tciga | po-              | pon-              |        |
| 2d pers. bab-, hab-                          | { p <sup>h</sup> bi-<br>ohō—p | bu-pci }<br>hō-pci }            | hás- }<br>(hátc- ) }       | tcī- }<br>tcin- } |          | -tcitcka | { tci-<br>(s-tc) | { tcin-<br>(s-tc) |        |
| 3d pers. { ib-, hai- }<br>{ cub-, haci- }    | b-, ha-                       | { b-, ha-<br>b-ci,<br>ha ?-ci } | hō-tci }<br>i- }           | in-               |          | -hō      | { i-<br>(s-tc)   | in(s-tc)          |        |
| indefinite                                   | ha-                           |                                 |                            |                   |          |          |                  |                   |        |
| reciprocal                                   | c-                            |                                 | it-                        | itin-             |          |          | iti-             | itin-             |        |
| reflexive                                    | c-                            |                                 | il-                        |                   |          |          | il-              |                   |        |
| medial                                       |                               |                                 |                            |                   |          | -iba     |                  |                   |        |

Pronominal resemblances and differences seem to be indicated in the following cases :

## PRONOMINAL RESEMBLANCES

| NATCHEZ  | KOASATI  | HITCHITI  |
|--|--|---|
| ya-, da-, I  | -le, I   | -le, I (Muskogee -ā)                                    |
| nī-, me  | an-, to me; anok, I (independent)  | an-, to me; anak, I (indep.)<br>(Muskogee ani [indep.]) |
| -dzi, to me  | tca-, me   | tca-, me  |
| -n, continuative sign in most persons  | na-, continuative  | -n, - <sup>n</sup> , continuative                       |
| i-, he, she, it (direct discourse)   | i-, him, her, it   | i-, him, her, it  |
| awidi, two; dān- sign of dual  | iti-, reciprocal   | iti-, reciprocal; ita, other, another                   |
| hā-, hō-, hī-, hē-, pl. sign with primary stems (position before other pronouns) | ho-, they (dual & pl.) (cf. hi in hil- & há in hás) (position before other pronouns) | -hō, they (dual and pl.)                                |
| b-, pl. sign with secondary stems  | -pi, "repeatedly", "always", "a while"   | —   |

## PRONOMINAL DIFFERENCES

|                         |                       |                              |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| ba-, b-, you            | his-, hás-, tci-, you | -itcka, tc-, you             |
| c-, he (quoted)         | —                     | —                            |
| -ci, indirect obj.      | n-, ind. obj.         | n-, ind. obj.                |
| c-, reflexive           | il-, reflexive        | il-, reflexive; -iba, medial |
| —                       | hil-, we              | -iga, we                     |
| —                       | kō-, us               | pō-, us                      |
| (dán, dual sign)        | —?                    | s                            |
| (há- and b-, pl. signs) | -tci, they            | tc, pl. sign                 |

If the reflexive *il-* of Koasati and Hitchiti is derived from *ila*, to arrive coming, as seems likely, it may be identified in certain Natchez verb stems (see p. 70). It is also possible that there was a Natchez suffix *-ci* with inclusive meaning (as in *lataci*, all; *debidza*, we are sitting down, *debidzica*, we are all sitting down), and this would resemble the Koasati plural *-tci* and Hitchiti *-tc*.

The resemblances between the continuative affixes is particularly striking as the following examples will show:

NATCHEZ: *bā'lacánái*, they are cutting it up; *gōcá'ngik*, they were living; *tse'knagik*, it is crying; *inōa"tscendik*, he was singing.

KOASATI: *istōnafai'tohōlimpats*, he stayed there all the time; *ebenána'tcō'tōhōn*, it kept killing them; *hō'tind'náxtcōk*, he had sores all over.

HITCHITI: *atámangas*, it passes; *akalá'nkak*, going around; *atcō'ngōt*, there being many; *bisí'ngalis*, I am pointing.

#### DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives are compared in the following tables:

| NATCHEZ  | KOASATI  | HITCHITI  |
|--|--|---|
| <i>ga</i> , near speaker   | <i>ya</i> , near speaker                               | <i>ya</i> , near speaker  |
| <i>ya</i> , some distance removed  | <i>ka</i> , some distance removed                      | <i>ka</i> , some distance removed   |
| <i>ma</i> , indicating greater remoteness and having grammatical functions   | <i>ma</i> , more remote and with grammatical functions | <i>ma</i> , more remote and with grammatical functions                                      |
| <i>hi</i> , he, a stem meaning "now", "at this time" as in <i>hí'gup</i> , now; <i>hēgubáyine</i> , at this time; <i>híkti'nu</i> , quickly; & perhaps <i>inda'</i> , now! | <i>hi</i> in <i>hímai'yun</i> , now                    | <i>hi</i> in <i>hí'ya</i> , this; <i>hímai' ōga</i> , this time                             |
| <i>da</i> , indicating indefiniteness in space or time and an essential element in indefinites and interrogative adverbs   | <i>ita-</i> , down there                               | <i>ta-</i> , there, a locative prefix with meaning very similar to that of the Natchez stem |
| <i>mana</i> , that indef. pers. or thing   | <i>ma-</i> , that (as above); <i>nasi</i> , thing      | <i>ma</i> , that (as above) <i>naki</i> , thing; (cf. Choctaw prefix <i>na-</i> )           |

Natchez *há'tsgán*, "who?" "somebody", may have some connection with Hitchiti *há'nti*, "whoever", "whichsoever", "which one", "so much", "very", "greatly", "intensely", but it is incapable of proof. *Gōc*, "thing", "something", "what?" seems to be unlike anything in Koasati or Hitchiti though it recalls somewhat a Choctaw article-pronoun *kōc*, "the which", "that which" Natchez *gats*, "the former", "that former person or thing", is not

apparently represented in the other languages and it may itself be compounded of *ga*, "this", and the emphatic ending *-ts*. Superficially it recalls Koasati *gasuk*, "first"; but this is rather, to be compared with Natchez *-aci* which has the same meaning. Natchez *dū*, which assists in the formation of interrogative adverbs, etc., and signifies "where?" "how many?" "a few", "much", seems unlike anything in the Muskogean dialects examined so far.

## NEGATION.

The following comparisons may be made :

| NATCHEZ  | KOASATI  | HITCHITI  |
|--|--|---|
| ic-, as in <i>icmä'k'hála</i> , (a person) should not be treated so; <i>göcda i'cgoat cüü'bidik</i> , one person could not cross.  | ik- (placed before the verb stem with -ö usually after it), as : <i>i'kbot</i> , could not kill; <i>iksön</i> , he had none; <i>ikánö'tcitös</i> , he slept not.   | —   |
| <i>égwá't</i> , no ! <i>gadih</i> , to be without.   | -kö, -gö, as : <i>tcábá'ngös</i> , I don't like it; <i>má'tátcápetci'kón</i> , don't throw me to him! <i>amá'yatci'kös</i> , you can't beat me; <i>kubi no</i> , don't (A) <i>mökö</i> , <i>mankö</i> , not (A). | —   |
| -hat, -at, not; <i>gadih</i> , to be without, as : <i>é'wilübat</i> , it does not run; <i>hayá'pat</i> , it is not green; <i>gá'dibü</i> , of no value; <i>gá'dibahö</i> , it is all gone. | —  | -ti, not; <i>aiti</i> , to be nothing, as : <i>atcá'knitis</i> , I have not eaten enough; <i>ai'tis</i> , there is none; <i>aiti'bán</i> , he was not there.<br>(Cf. Choctaw neg. particle <i>heto</i> and the independent negative stem <i>ti</i> , in Alabama.) |

## THE NOUN-FORMING PREFIX.

| NATCHEZ  | KOASATI   | HITCHITI  |
|--|---|---|
| <i>nük'</i> , <i>nök'</i> , as : <i>cö'got nük'</i> - <i>bágá'cene</i> , birds making a noise together; et <i>nök'</i> <i>le'</i> - <i>nöga</i> <sup>n</sup> , a house standing there; <i>gwaxdö'ta nük'</i> <i>tsö'</i> - <i>gotgup'</i> , a boat full (of things). | <i>nas-</i> , <i>náks-</i> , <i>na-</i> , as : <i>nas libá'tkun</i> , things that are ripe; <i>ná'ksöt</i> , something; <i>nasöt háspá'p</i> , nothing which you eat; <i>ná'skun a'yatöhök</i> , somewhere he traveled. | <i>nak</i> , <i>naki</i> , something, thing, as : <i>manak</i> , that thing; <i>nak lá'p-ki</i> , everything; <i>nak intca'uki</i> , something to be written on; <i>nak namitckó'tckatik o'mis</i> , you are fit for nothing. |

Compare also the Choctaw prefix or particle *na*, as : *na fötöli*, a grinder or borer; *na höktci*, a planter, a sower; *na hita*, a dancer.

## THE VOLITIONAL AND NEUTER PREFIXES.

| NATCHEZ   | KOASATI   | HITCHITI   |
|---|---|--|
| <i>l-</i> , <i>li-</i> , <i>l-</i> (volitional)<br><i>g-</i> , <i>gi-</i> , <i>ga-</i> (neuter)   | <i>le-</i> , <i>li-</i> (volitional)<br><i>ka-</i> , <i>ga-</i> (neuter)  | <i>li-</i> (volitional)<br><i>ka-</i> (neuter)   |
| Examples : <i>gagé'cánát</i> , he was knocking them off; <i>gíche-lú'ic</i> , to creep upon, to hunt; <i>gi'cyelü</i> , I pushed backward; <i>lea'nif</i> , she is going to cook me; <i>gagéicá'ngine</i> , when it was falling; <i>gi'chagic</i> , to crawl; <i>gi'cuguk</i> , he went backward; <i>ledá'ga</i> , I am burned. | Examples : <i>nipön' ábös/l'k</i> , he roasted meat; <i>ánö'lek</i> , he finished (fixing) it; <i>istimatca'slit</i> , he nailed it up; <i>libá't/in</i> , it burned him; <i>itcabö'ska</i> , roast meat; <i>istánö'gak</i> , it was finished; <i>istatcá'sgát</i> , it was stuck up all about; <i>libá'tkátohon</i> , it was cooked. | Examples : <i>alba'lilis</i> , I put under my head; <i>ano'lilis</i> , I devour; <i>batá'plilis</i> , I strike; <i>fa'plis</i> , the wind blows; <i>hitci'tcalis</i> , I make appear; <i>akalaskatci'gas</i> , we are chasing something; <i>file'hak</i> , he awoke; <i>hayá'ksatci'gas</i> , we laugh; <i>hi'tcalis</i> , I appear. |

## TENSES.

There is a present (or perhaps rather progressive), tense in Natchez indicated by a suffix *a* or *a'*, and contrasted apparently with the simple past. Thus we find *mak'ca'l*, he did, but *mak'dala'*, I am doing; *ayiyowi'ge*, I thought, but *aye'dowa'*, we think; *hidoxbi'cigen'*, I always told you, but *hitö'wa'*, I am saying. Perhaps *daü'a*, he just killed her, is another example.

A vowel suffix is easily lost or metamorphosed into some form difficult to recognize but we seem to find a correspondence in a suffix *-wa* in Hitchiti, as: *mā'wa*, if it is all right; *hitcō'wa*, let us see; *la ongitkā'wa*, you might just be talking (i. e. lying). In Alabama it seems to be lost in the auxiliary *a'*, but the following may be cited: *ila*, he comes; *fi'tka*, he picks or digs out; *ilhā'la*, he comes and listens. In Koasati *s* is substituted for *a*, as: *ilalā's*, I come; *ō'ngas*, he says.

What appears to be a sort of intensive present in Natchez takes a suffix *-hō*: *banahō'*, you are now so! *watcū'gabō*, all have just died; *gadiha'hō*, it is now all gone; *yoga'tahō*, I have just ceased him.

Certain Alabama forms seem to resemble this: *ilpā'hō*, we are in the act of eating; *i'nkabō*, to give now. Perhaps it is also related to a suffix of identical form which is employed as a future sign in Koasati and an interrogative in Hitchiti: Koasati *oxhitcā'lahōs*, I will go to see them; Hitchiti *nakōt onkabōs*, what is that noise?

In Natchez there is a past or perfect tense suffix *-di*: *ihī'cidik*, it made a noise; *dūwā'cidi*, he stayed all night.

In Koasati and Hitchiti the immediate past is indicated by *-te* or *-ti*, the more remote past by *-tō*. Koasati examples: *alatē'*, he went (just now); *ila'lite*, I have just arrived (coming);

*hō'gatik*, they just said; *ā'swatōs*, they stayed; *ō'ngatōhōk*, it was called; Hitchiti examples: *hi'tca'i*, he saw (just before); *ōmiti'*, that was so; *i'latōkak*, he got there; *hilaiha'ō'kan*, she cried (she came into a crying condition).

Natchez also presents us with a suffix *-kdi* or *-kde* which there is good reason for thinking a combination of the neuter *ga-* and *-di*. Examples: *e'da ba'la'kdiayik*, the door is always closed; *i'dsagikdici'*, he was tired; *ginlé'x-cikdik*, he had fasted; *bōbōpi'kde*, doubled up; *gahubā'kdikdik*, he had jumped up; *geyageyail'dinūha*, he is very lean. In Koasati *ga-* and *-ti* and *-to* occur in similar juxtaposition, as: *tcāfā'ngatik*, I have found; *itinalē'gatōs*, they spoke together; *amā'gatōs*, they went; *bālā'gatōs*, he lay down.

In Hitchiti, however, we have a suffix *-kta* which may represent this process carried out as in Natchez. At any rate the suffix is closely comparable in form and function with Natchez *-kdi*. Examples: *hitcali'ktas*, I have seen; *hontci'ktawa*, it stopped (as reported); *hā'tkōkta-wats*, it was white (as reported).

Most simple past relations in Natchez are indicated by means of a prefix *ga-*. This finds no correspondence in the Muskhogean tongues proper unless we may assume that it is connected with the Alabama suffix *-kha* which designates a kind of intermediate past relation. Examples of *-kha*: *atā'kha*, he went (about one week ago); *amilakhā'*, he came to me about a week ago; *atā'likha*, I went (time not specified); *i'lalikka*, I came.

Examples of the Natchez prefix: *gahō'm'cugū*, he let him go; *gahici'*, he said so; *gahōlō'xcildi*, it pulled him up.

Infallible future occurrence is expressed in Natchez by a suffix *-ete*, and in Koasati by a suffix *-tc*, *-ts*, *-xtc* or *-xts*. The latter suffix is also used in Hitchiti but has taken on an imperative function. Examples:

NATCHEZ: *nawitipce'te*, what he will tell

you; *gatixtabi'ete*, we will not be living; *bam-wite'ete*, you will die; *e'idalete*, I will look at her.

KOASATI : *anölele'ts*, I can or will finish; *atcö'eki'loxts*, I will not die; *ibile'xtc*, I will kill him; *ilale'xtc*, I will come back!

HITCHITI : *imbats*, eat! *ohitcö'tc*, let us go and see! *tcalihtcikömitc*, kill me!

A potential or dubitative sense is introduced in Natchez by placing a particle *nö'ga<sup>n</sup>* after the verb, and occasionally by introducing a suffix *-ni*, perhaps related to the first syllable of *nö'ga<sup>n</sup>*. Examples : *mak'hagi'cik nö'ga<sup>n</sup>*, it probably had to be that way; *mö'tsnagidzik nö'ga<sup>n</sup>*, my days must be growing short; *ma'igei<sup>n</sup> nö'ga<sup>n</sup>*, that is perhaps enough : *hihö'xcinik*, they would say to him; *cékhöci'nik*, they would fool him.

In Alabama a potential function is performed by a suffix *-nö*, and in Hitchiti by a suffix *-kö* or *-ikö*. It is possible that the former suffix is related to the first syllable of *nö'ga<sup>n</sup>* and the latter to its second syllable. Examples :

ALABAMA : *icbö'nö*, I suppose you have killed; *inkö'nö*, it was probably given (to my satisfaction); *okpö'nö*, I think he has not eaten; *iksö'nö*, I am satisfied he is not here.

HITCHITI : *holasi'tsaköt*, you might be lying; *mun mani'tcigös*, they might do it; *tciminhö'ladiigös*, I will (probably?) not neglect you.

Most Natchez infinitives end in *-ic*, or *c*, to do, to be, to cause to, and many nouns are formed in this way, particularly instrumentals, as : *ethä'lic*, to see; *emhé'üic*, to sink; *inogolö'hagic*, to sing; *baihü'ic*, something with which to whittle, i. e., a knife; *ihihedi'ic*, something to blow on, i. e., a horn; *itix katahagü'ic*, to open a door with, i. e., a key.

In all other Muskhocean dialects a similar function is performed by means of the prefix *is-* or *ist-*, which is actually merely a contraction of the verb to take, the *-t* which appears before vowels being the Muskhocean con-

nective suffix *-t*. Examples in Koasati : *istä's-wan*, to stay with; *istamä'gak*, they took him, they went with him; *istötä'tcök*, they got there with; *istintcä'ka*, something with which to write, i. e., a pencil. Examples in Hitchiti : *isä'yak*, he was moving about with; *isbanä'gi*, a thing to tie with; *isbatä'plilis*, I strike with; *isföyö'n'legi*, to bore with, i. e., an augur; *iskalä'fki*, to cut or gnaw with, i. e., a knife;

In spite of the fact that the infinitive sign in Natchez is suffixed while the Muskhocean instrumental is prefixed the use of the two is so similar that it is possible they are related. For instance, both appear in connection with numerals, as :

NATCHEZ : *widä'xcic*, one apiece; *awi'tcic*, two apiece; *awitnahä'ica*, the second; *netnahä'ica*, the third.

KOASATI : *istatutci'na*, the third; *istönöstä'ga*, the fourth.

HITCHITI : *isipä'gaka*, the sixth; *i'spagi*, six times; *iskülapä'kika*, the seventh; *iskülapä'ki*, seven times.

The apparent objection that in Muskhocean *is-* or *ist-* is a verb stem and probably of relatively recent employment in a subordinate position is not as great as first appears because we seem to have a similar independent stem in Natchez, although, unfortunately, there are not many examples of it in the material preserved. The following, however, may be cited : *icugü'k*, it is the cause, it is the matter; *gö'cte né'cguk*, what is the matter?

Taken together this evidence would seem to render the relationship between the affixes considered highly probable; but, as sometimes happens, we are here plagued with a superfluity of probabilities which tend to interfere with the acceptance of any one. For it happens that certain verbs in the Muskhocean dialects proper, when followed by certain other verbs take a suffix *-s* corresponding closely in form and absolutely in position to the infinitive

suffix of Natchez. It is undoubtedly significant that this *-s* appears only before the verbs *bána*, to want, *toba*, to become or to get to, *káno*, to be good, and perhaps a few others, but what that significance is is not yet apparent. The suffix may be a contraction of some better known modifier, connected with the prefix *is-*, or something entirely different from either. Examples in Alabama: *áliná'djistò bapòk*, they went far on down; *álasbá'ngatòha*, she did not want to go; *hitas tcabanòssi*, I want to see him; *ibis ka'nòlahòk*, he was a good hand at killing.

I shall have to let the matter rest for the present with the exposition of these two close analogies to the Natchez suffix.

A noun-forming and adjective forming suffix of more general character is Natchez *-p*. This is rarely employed in Alabama and is wanting in Hitchiti and Muskogee unless represented by the medial affix already treated but is conspicuous in the Koasati tongue. Examples:

NATCHEZ: *hiu'p*, what he said; *gintsu'pgip*, one selling things, i. e., a trader; *ma'gùp*, what is so, i. e., truth; *lagá'oxgùp*, smooth; *lā'lgùp*, strong.

KOASATI: *alé'lap*, what I think; *ā'tisap*, the man who is there; *tcafā'gasip*, that the only one there is; *haspa'p*, anything you eat; *gā'halēp*, what I said; *anga'p*, what is given me.

#### CONNECTIVES.

All of the languages under consideration are characterized by a small number of connective suffixes, some of which show very close resemblances while some differ considerably.

All appear to agree in employing a connective suffix *-k* with a meaning similar to English "and". Examples:

NATCHEZ: *hē'lócūk hōm'cugū'k gagwa'tcigū*, he got tired, let go, and ran away.

KOASATI: *alé'vak ó'kifan ó'fat óli'kfa sé'holit*

*apé'slok etó' tōsp'ón padjokó'holók istōwalā'tō-hōlimpats*, he went and, getting to the water and pulling off his shirt, threw it down and sat on some tree punk.

HITCHITI: *lini'kak wasankā'ktawa*, he ran and disappeared.

Other examples occur incidentally through this discussion.

A second Natchez suffix is *-ne* which usually performs the function of the English subordinate conjunction "when". Examples: *wit-cū'gune gahūbā'gacikdik*, when it floated they jumped off; *hēlobā'yine mā'gagōnōbē'cgū*, when you get tired you must come back; *hancicū'ne gagainōgólō'cuga*, when he did so he sang; *dzicū'gūne gahūbā'kcikdik'*, when (or after) he fell he got up.

As was the case with the infinitive suffix, the principal difficulty in finding correspondences to this suffix in the other Muskogean languages is that there is more than one plausible resemblance. In the first place it is quite possible that it is related to the common Muskogean objective suffix *-n*. This has been mentioned already in connection with the pronominal prefixes where it is the sign of the indirect object, but it is used as well, not only after nouns, but to connect clauses. Examples:

KOASATI: *na'ksuk tikbā'ó'stelan tai'yeha tcafā'gan i'nkalas*, I will give a wife to whoever goes and gets fire; *istā'yasin ó'ki tcubā'fan ó'xlòk*, going along he got to the sea; *hatcā'tòhōn at'k toholé'k*, while he stood there a person arrived.

HITCHITI: *ilipa'htcot tala'kan hitcā'lis*, I saw him lying dead; *tcó'kfōn kā'tcahin ā'tak fitō't ya'wlitcin hitcā'likan ó'miti ósōntahó'mmilis*, when he said that to the rabbit, (he said) I'll go and bring you some turkeys I saw about.

A second possibility is suggested by a Choctaw connective *na*, interpreted usually by Byington as signifying "and". Examples: *ont kehopesa nah*, let us go and see it and

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then; ont kehopesa *na ia*, let me look for and come then; anta *na shohbi*, to stay till night. Of course all may be connected; I have not found *na* in Koasati or Hitchiti.

Natchez *-ge<sup>n</sup>*, while, seems to have nothing closely corresponding to it in the other languages unless we suppose it to be compound and the nasal ending a remnant of the suffix just considered. Examples: *cūbiti<sup>n</sup>ge<sup>n</sup> icdā<sup>l</sup>čūguk*, having gone along he got up; *cuxdi<sup>n</sup>-ge<sup>n</sup> gahi<sup>n</sup>caxgū*, while he was going along, he came there; *cuxdi<sup>n</sup>ge<sup>n</sup> dalū<sup>n</sup>cał*, while going along, he gathered up a lot (of papers).

The force of English conditional is conveyed in Natchez by means of a suffix *-yēha<sup>n</sup>* which is possibly compound. Examples: *mā<sup>n</sup>gūp ayiyē<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>n</sup> daxdiyehā<sup>n</sup>naa*, if it is all right, I will go; *gawidi<sup>n</sup>cnagik nayē<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>n</sup> nōmadatō<sup>n</sup>wa<sup>n</sup>*, if he gets out, I will kill him.

An antithetical element in Hitchiti resembles this, as: *tcinōgā<sup>n</sup>yi<sup>n</sup>*, you however; *anōgā<sup>n</sup>yi<sup>n</sup>*, but me.

Next to *-k* and *-n* the most prominent connective in the Muskhocean languages generally is *-t*. In Alabama and Koasati this is used as a very close connective as in the case of *ist-* already considered, but in Hitchiti and Muskogee it is the sign of the nominative. Examples:

KOASATI: *fi<sup>n</sup>tōk istiwālē<sup>n</sup>gāt isnākā<sup>n</sup>lan*, the turkey ran with it and disappeared.

HITCHITI: *hālelō<sup>n</sup>sōsigat tcigā<sup>n</sup>mōtōha<sup>n</sup>ik*, the boy went out visiting; *ahō<sup>n</sup>i hātca<sup>n</sup>lōn*, a tree stood there.

In this form such a suffix is wanting in Natchez but we find instead a suffix *-dz* or *-ts* which seems to be used for emphasis and may be related to *-t*. Examples: *gā<sup>n</sup>hicū wacgūbī<sup>n</sup>dž*, it was the dog that said it; *dō<sup>n</sup>m<sup>n</sup>unux wī<sup>n</sup>-dah<sup>n</sup>džā dō<sup>n</sup>pigāxdzat*, the other boy, do not ferry him over!

In these cases a connection with the Hitchiti and Muskogee usage of *-t* is suggested, but the

same suffix, or one closely like it, sometimes connects two or more verbs, and in such situations it approaches the functions of *-t* in Alabama and Koasati. Examples: *tsā<sup>n</sup>kā<sup>n</sup>lits gahōlō<sup>n</sup>xcildī<sup>n</sup>*, he stuck his knife into it and it pulled him up; *he<sup>n</sup>hawits gwatcene<sup>n</sup>cgūk*, he was running along saying; *wī<sup>n</sup>dants*, once, one and; *awidi<sup>n</sup>yits*, twice, two and, (etc.).

This dual aspect of *-ts* is much the strongest point in the argument for a genetic connection with *-t*.

#### THE INTENSIVE AND DIMINUTIVE.

Natchez adjectives sometimes take an intensive suffix *-in* which has about the same meaning as the English adverb "very". Examples: *cōgōnī<sup>n</sup>*, good; *cōgōnī<sup>n</sup>n*, very good; *watā<sup>n</sup>gūp*, long, *watā<sup>n</sup>gūpin*, very long, or longest.

However, this may be nothing more than a more abbreviated form of the diminutive suffix *-inū* or *-inux*, which is used with nouns as in *jbicī<sup>n</sup>nū*, father's brother, "little father"; *dōm<sup>n</sup>i<sup>n</sup>nux*, a child, "a little person"; *cōgō<sup>n</sup>ji<sup>n</sup>nū*, a little bird, but also with other parts of speech as, *lawalī<sup>n</sup>nū*, very near; *gōcōgō<sup>n</sup>nux*, a little while; *nitbitī<sup>n</sup>nux*, he could just walk; and perhaps *abō<sup>n</sup>nō*, heads only (but see p. 59).

There may be some connection between this and *ni*, *ne<sup>n</sup>*, *nix*, *nax* in Koasati and Alabama *manē<sup>n</sup>ta*, young; Creek *manitti*, Tunica *mī<sup>n</sup>x-sara*, and Chitimacha *na<sup>n</sup>xtsupu*. But more likely it is related to a common Muskhocean adverb *fe<sup>n</sup>na* or *ī<sup>n</sup>na*, "very", as in Koasati *elafē<sup>n</sup>nafō<sup>n</sup>gōn*, when he came very close; and *a<sup>n</sup>ti fi<sup>n</sup>nōk*, a man very like us.

#### THE NOMINAL PLURAL.

The Natchez plural suffix following nouns is *-xni* or *-ni*, which seems to be identical in use as it is in position with Koasati and Alabama *-ha*, Hitchiti *-āi*, and Creek *-āgi* or *-āi*.

Examples : (Natchez) *tsū'na*, chief, *tsū'naxni*, chiefs ; (Koasati) *mé'kō*, chief, *mé'kōba*, chiefs ; (Hitchiti) *miki*, chief, *miká'li*, chiefs ; (Creek) *mi'kō*, chief, *mi'kági* or *miká'lgí*, chiefs.

#### THE DISTRIBUTIVE SUFFIX.

Natchez nouns and pronouns take a suffix *-na* or *-nán* which seems to have a distributive meaning, "all over", "all about", and also at times means "only", "alone", "near". Examples : *íza*, the blood, *íza'na*, bloody, all over blood ; *tsola*, the pines, *tsola'nahák'*, about in the pine woods ; *éda*, the house, *é'dóna*, about in the house ; *í'sinán*, just by himself ; *agáha'nán*, alone by thyself.

It is possible that this is genetically connected with the plural suffix or with the diminutive *-inū*. Nothing corresponding to it seems to be present in the Muskogean languages proper, unless it it may be the adverb *fe'na*, very. (See p. 61).

#### ANTITHESIS.

In Natchez both verbs and nouns take an antithetical suffix *-án*, as : *hicanō'gán*, *gá'mayi-cūgūci*, he was saying but he was refusing ; *ōcílū'gán*, although she asked ; *itcō'yán gahō'x-cūguk*, the rabbit, however, came out.

The same element makes its appearance in Muskogean antithetical connectives as : *má'n-tik*, but (ma, demonstrative ; *-tik*, past temporal suffix and connective) ; *gá'ntik*, but (ga, demonstrative ; *-tik*, past temporal suffix and connective) ; *gá'ntōhōk*, (the same as the last but referring to more remote time).

#### SUBSTANTIVAL CONNECTIVES.

In Natchez the sense of English "and" between substantives is conveyed by means of a

particle *-ax* or *-u(x)*, suffixed to the second substantive, as : *gá'x'guba há'wáax*, the fox and the crawfish ; *atcō'yán adwá'xaax*, the rabbit and the wolf ; *abō'lgacá'ad ayumá'lühū*, the crane and the hummingbird.

In Choctaw the article pronouns *ak* and *hak* are used in much the same way, but perhaps the nearest analogy is in the Creek suffix *-ās*, although this appears after all nouns connected by it, as : *tsulá'kutās*, *wa'katās*, *sū'k'hatās*, horses, cattle, or hogs ; *konawa'tās*, even beads, beads and.

Natchez *-ōk* after substantives means "too", "also", "just", "only", as : *dé'gehók'* *gō'cete helá'tsicá'wa yaná'tsiyā*, I too have some use for it ; *gōbicō'k'* *gōgō'p yā'naya*, your kindred also are living ; *ak'tsunu'xtsō'k'*, just yourself.

A corresponding suffix in Creek is *-ux* or *-u*. Examples : *itō-ux mā'tawat*, of the same wood also ; *tu'tka-u sí'gun*, also without any fire ; *lá'mhi-u*, the eagle also ; *ma-ux*, that one also.

In Hitchiti there is a suffixed particle *ōgōli*, *ōkōli*, with the sense of "nothing but", "only". We find *ōkō'lika*, nothing but, only, employed independently and also *tcintō'gōlik*, he was a snake only ; *wā'ntak ōkō'lik*, only strong people.

#### INTRODUCTORY CONNECTIVES.

In each of the languages we have been discussing the principal independent connectives are formed about stems of similar meaning and resembling each other in form. The Natchez stem is *ma* which signifies "it is true", "it is so", as : *māk'de*, *māk'dí'ne*, *māk'dí'nux*, *má'gūp*, "and", "and then".

In Koasati and Hitchiti, and for that matter the other well known Muskogean languages, the connectives are formed around *mi*, "it is like", "it is true". Examples :

Koasati : *mamé'*, *má'mēk*, *mō'min*, *má'mok*,



ma'min, "and", "and then" "and so", etc.; gá'mit, oná'min, "just so".

Hitchiti: mō'min, then; mā'mihin, therefore; mā'mikma, but; mā'migan, then; ō'milin, then.

#### THE ORDINAL SUFFIX.

Natchez and Koasati each takes a suffix or suffixed particle meaning "first". In Natchez this is -aci, in Koasati -kásō. (But compare Natchez gáts, that former).

Natchez: cō'gōl-ci'laci, turkeys first; mā'ná'ci, that one first; iciwádayá'cin, the panther first, however.

Koasati: wá'suk ká'sōk, the wolf first; sá'ták ká'sō, the terrapin first.

#### LOCATIVE SUFFIXES.

In Natchez we find three or four locative suffixes attached usually to nouns. These are: -k', at; -cdik, toward; -guc, to (with motion); -dzi, to (?). They are similar in form and usage to suffixes found in Tunica, Chitimacha and Atakapa. There are a few suffixes or suffixed particles resembling them in usage in the Muskhoegan dialects proper but in form they are quite distinct, Hichiti -lata, toward, and -tun, in the direction of, containing the only possible suggestion of a connection (with -cdik).

#### AUXILIARIES.

The two article-auxiliaries and the causative occur in all three languages and are almost identical in form. The first of these appears as a, e, and i; the second as ō or u. The causative is -tsi or -dzi in Natchez; -tci in Koasati and Hitchiti. Examples:

NATCHEZ: adá'dag'e'de, I am going to lift my head; hámo'tála<sup>n</sup>, I am smiling; hegeyē'l (for

hegeyē'lík), I lift; hepcá'ngík, they were swimming; haōxhag'i'c, to gape; gáadá'cugák, he raised his head; hánhá'ūc, to make, to manufacture; hálacbe'ludzík, to watch one; an'c'i'l-gák, he asked; á'icák, he thought; hē'ū, he said; bádá'citsík, he put them together; tsácigá'í'sicík, she caused it to sit on his shoulder; gō'cde í'platsi, what was he doing to you? dikcū'tsík, it had been caused to catch and hang.

KOASATI: ábosle'l, he roasted (meat); imalowá'halit, he broke it and; apohi'las, let us throw him down; isbá'halit, he stabbed him with (knife) and; itafá'ngök, they met each other; atcunoxhe'lō, let us watch him (secretly); ōs, it is so; ná'ksán tce'tein ō'mi, what are you doing to it? tálgá'xtcuk, he got into it; mathō'tcatōhōna'hetō'min, they are going to send me.

HITCHITI: atcá'talitckō, did you know me? isatá'lkús, it is a sign (or mark); atcō'khitōt, it is a great number; abitilcōbá'teilis, I exaggerate (I cause to be big); imasfá'tiik, they were made to catch; albasli'teilis, I put them under my head.

It should be added that, just as the neuter suffix appears frequently before the past temporal suffixes -di, -ti, -tō, etc., the volitional naturally enough occurs constantly with the causative auxiliary. Examples:

NATCHEZ: gō'cde helá'xtsinik, what can be done to him? bahelá'xdzínik, having tied (a rock) about his neck; dūlpenlá'xdzine, when, you push with (a long pole); lelebē'láxdzík, you put them together.

KOASATI: ilanawc'letcōk, he hunted; wálc'-letcōk, he made him run; isitatcukōl'djitōhō'limpats, he shot an arrow through him; tcá-subailitcē's, let me know!

HITCHITI: hatcali'teilis, I set something up, I cause something to stand; hátlit'itēis, whiten it! hilai'xlitcō'to'kan, making her cry; hitcī'tcalis, I cause to appear, I bring forth.

## THE NUMERALS.

The following table contains a comparison

|     | NATCHEZ            | ALABAMA      | HITCHITI       | MUSKOGEE       |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1   | wi'da <sup>n</sup> | tcáfa        | lā'mi          | hā'mgi         |
| 2   | ā'widi             | atō'kolō     | tū'kla         | hō'kōli        |
| 3   | nē'di              | tūtci'na     | tutci'ni       | tut'ci'ni      |
| 4   | ginawí'di          | ōstā'ga      | sitā'gi        | ō'sti          |
| 5   | icpi'di            | tāta'bi      | tcā'xgipi      | tcā'xgipi      |
| 6   | lā'hanaox          | ánā'li       | ipā'gi         | ipā'ki         |
| 7   | ā'n'gua            | ōntō'kolō    | kōlapā'gi      | kōlapā'ki      |
| 8   | āpgādū'bic         | ōntutci'na   | tū'snapaki     | tcí'napaki     |
| 9   | wi'dipgādū'bic     | tcákkā'li    | ū'stapaki      | ō'stapaki      |
| 10  | ō'gō               | pō'kōle      | pō'kōli        | pā'li          |
| 20  | ōgā'xpa            | pōlistō'kolō | pō'kōli tu'kla | pāli-hō'kōli   |
| 100 | pūp'               | tāti'ba      | tcu'kpi lā'mi  | tcu'kpi hā'mgi |

From this table it appears that Natchez numerals differ completely from those of Muskogee and there is only one possible correspondence with a Hitchiti numeral, in the case of ten. Between Natchez and Alabama there seems to be but one additional resemblance, in the words denoting six. But while Natchez thus stands distinctly apart from the rest, it will be noticed that Alabama differs from

of the principal numerals in Natchez, Alabama, Hitchiti, and Muskogee (Creek) :

Hitchiti and Muskogee in seven cases out of the twelve, i. e., in more than half.

## THE TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

The terms of relationship in Natchez, Koasati, Hitchiti, and Muskogee follow. Some of the Hitchiti terms are wanting.

| ENGLISH          | NATCHEZ        | KOASATI        | HITCHITI        | MUSKOGEE   |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| grandfather      | dédex          | awō            | fōsi            | bōtca      |
| grandmother      | yēcta          | apō            | ?               | pōsi       |
| father           | ibic           | tāta           | lki             | lki        |
| mother           | ihgwál         | hki (cki)      | hki             | tski       |
| uncle (patern.)  | ibic           | tātáske        | lki, lkōsi      | lki        |
| uncle (matern.)  | āwex           | mōsi, lákfe    | tcūfi           | pawa       |
| aunt (paternal)  | (n)í'cti, icdu | apō            | ?               | pōsi       |
| aunt (maternal)  | hebe'dze       | hkōsi          | hkōsi           | tskōsi     |
| brother (elder)  | kāka           | yāya           | tcayi           | laha       |
| brother (yr.)    | wāna           | balō, tātáke   | yakpōsi         | tcūsi      |
| brother (m. sp.) | kapi'na        | lakhūci        | lákfi           | tcitwa     |
| sister (m. sp.)  | alōwáts        | fōni           | fungi, ōtcabaga | wánwa      |
| son              | hāxgwál        | tcōse          | ?               | pōdji      |
| daughter         | hāxgwál        | ostaikē        | ostaigi         | tcáttcusti |
| nephew (man's)   | hidzina        | baiyi (Ala.)   | ōstōsdjut       | hōpuewa    |
| grandchild       | hámáhálic      | pōkōse         | ?               | ōsuswa     |
| wife             | atu            | hálge          | hálgi           | hewa       |
| husband          | kāpina         | nani (tcūfaka) | náknáni         | hī         |
| brother-in-law   | edudziya       | ala (alakosi)  | ?               | gōdji'báni |

| ENGLISH         | NATCHEZ | KOASATI       | HITCHITI | MUSKOGEE |
|-----------------|---------|---------------|----------|----------|
| sister-in-law   | hētálá  | haiya (ánāte) | ?        | hádjowa  |
| son-in-law      | ácōwát  | onnahlih      | ?        | hütisi   |
| daughter-in-law | icáwál  | ánale         | ?        | hütisi   |
| father-in-law   | wágát   | posiktce      | ?        | mahe     |
| mother-in-law   | ácđibi  | posiktce      | ?        | yatamox  |

The only Natchez terms which in any way resemble terms in the languages compared with it are those for mother, maternal uncle, elder brother, nephew, wife, and sister-in-law. On the other hand, Koasati differs so much from the other two that, of the remaining seventeen terms, on a liberal construction, it agrees in only seven cases, differing in eleven. Aside from the six first-mentioned terms Koasati, Hitchiti, and Muskogee all three agree in but four cases. These facts show the very considerable changes in terminology that have taken place in the standard Muskogean languages. That still greater divergence would be found in Natchez was to have been expected.

## II. STEM

Following is a comparative table of independent stems with the Natchez forms in the first column and similar forms from the other Muskogean languages in the second. The comparison between Natchez, Hitchiti, Koasati, and Alabama is about as complete as the available material permits, but comparatively slight use has been made of Muskogee (Creek) and Choctaw. The examples in the second column are distinguished as follows: H, Hitchiti; K, Koasati; A, Alabama; M, Muskogee; C, Choctaw; G, general (in several languages).

### I. NATCHEZ *b* = MUSKHOGEAN *b*, *p*.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| bō, to touch  | bō, to feel (H); pōt(ō), to touch (A)  |
| baka, to throw into the mouth quickly, to gobble up by the handful; buk, to sprinkle; bugūt, to pour on               | bakax, to throw (in no specified way) (H); bāka, to throw down (A)   |
| abicīp, post oak; abicōt, peach; axtābicōt, plum  | ābi, stem, tree (G); āpi'tci, body, handle, vine (A); āpi'ltci, stalk (A)  |
| bōx, to sew, to pierce  | bō, to bore, to drill (M); fō, to bore, to drill (H)   |
| bī, to whip, to slap  | bī, to whip (H)  |
| bōxc, a ball; bōbōp (gup), spherical, globular; pūkum(gup), humpbacked; bōbilu, blue dumplings (named from the shape) | bōx, to wrap up (H); pōki, ball (H); pōlō, to roll (H); pōlō, to bend (H); bōfō, to wrap up (A); bōlōkta, a circle (A, C); bōnōt, round (A); pōlōwi <sup>n</sup> , blue dumplings (named from the shape) |
| baha, meeting place, what meets   | aba, to meet (A)   |
| ábō, head; cf. pé'(gū), cloud   | āba, up, above (K, A); abi, up, above (H); isbāko, head (K, A)   |
| bála, to shut, to close   | bāha, to shut, to close (K, A)   |

bak, to whip (in bakhálic, whip)

bék, to beat in a contest

lebu, to turn over

bôt(góp), hill

bene, to shoot

bölö, to split

eble, to hear; ebük, or imbök, ear

ba, to carry on the back

be, to go (pl.); wé, to go about (pl.) (wé probably from bibe)

batank', twins; icöpötca, between

bala, to cut up; pilit, pulverized

bél, to sweep

abél, shoulder

abál, river, creek

bát (pl.), batáp (sing.), to hit (G)

baha or abaha, to beat, etc. (K)

tipó, to turn over (A)

bökö, hill (H); bun(ti), that which is hilled up (A)

behi, gun, bow (K); (cf. tcanap, to shoot and iftci, gun (K))

baí, to split (H); paí, to split (A)

hak, to hear (H); ha(l), to hear (K); halö, to hear (A); pöx, to hear (M); háktco, ear (K, A)

pap, to carry on the back (A)

apiyi, to go (pl.) (M); amá, to go (pl.) (K, A)

pöföt, both (H); pökti, twins (H); pökta, twin, doubled up (A); pötök, between (H) pök, to make fine (H); cf. pitaf, to cut a slice in (K)

pasax, to sweep (H); pas, to sweep (K, A)

palats(ki), shoulder (H); apakha, shoulder (A)

pa'ni, river, creek (A); bok, river, creek (C)

## 2. NATCHEZ *p* = MUSKHOGEAN *p*.

pata, to cover, to stick upon; bé, to cover; bet, spread out, flat; at pëts, flat of foot

pai, to whittle

pāka, to float

pux, to blow (of breath)

pa, to plant; pa(helüc), seed; pe(helū), bread

pagac, to shout, to howl

pulu, to lighten, lightning

epe, äpā, to cross, across, crosswise

pukax, to smoke

döp, to pull off (as a vine from a tree)

döp', like a long string

pöi, pöyi, to broil

döp', to cut; dö, to pound repeatedly; cf. tū, to fight

pata, to spread out (H); pët, to spread (K);

patcakfi, flat (H); i palasi, flat of foot (H)

paiyi, piyi, to rub (M)

pakai, to float (K); bága, to float (H)

pöf, to blow (of breath) (H, A)

palac, bread (H); paspa, bread (A) paska, bread (C); pöli, to plant, seed (A); punli (H)

pax, to shout, to howl (H)

apala, apalla, light (as of a torch) (A)

apalui, other side of, side of, to cross (H); aban, to cross (A)

pafax, to smoke (A)

tip, to pull off (as a vine from a tree)

töp, to string a bow, to stretch a string as for a bow (A)

pöyát, to boil, to fry (A)

töp, to pound (H); cf. tō, to play ball (G) (nomenclature of ball game is similar to that used in war)

düp, to cross  
 dzip, to buy  
 cüp, sick  
 göp, to pull out  
 hap, to bite  
 hëp, to be in the water, to bathe oneself

dzöp, to pull out (hair, etc.)  
 lep, limber

lepep, to stick together

löpö, to cross (K)  
 tcöp, to buy (K)  
 hōpa, sick (A); nōk, sick (H)  
 kapa, to leave, to separate, to divide (H, M)  
 kap, to bite (H)  
 hap, to swim (K); hap, to bathe (A) upax, to bathe oneself (H); abōx, to wash, to clean (A)  
 sōp, to scalp, to skin (K, A)  
 lipha soft, pounded fine (A); libalot(osok), weak (H)  
 lapa, to stick on (A); lakpa, to stick (A); laci, to unite (H)

NATCHEZ *m* = MUSKHOGEAN *m*.

mał, to be disgusted with; mihagi, dangerous;  
 cf. kalám, to be afraid

ōm, medicine  
 mayuk, dark, night

ōmáx, pepper  
 mak', to do, to make  
 mai, to love  
 mōk', to make bubbles  
 támūya, yesterday; dūwa, night  
 tim', drunk  
 cōm, a noise of a certain kind  
 cōm', to start, to go, to leave; cf. cō, to seek, to hunt for  
 yamats, to be near, to approach  
 hámán', again

mała, to be afraid (H)

hōmi, to take medicine (H)  
 mōtusta, to get dark (H); mōcō, to be extinguished (C)  
 hōma, pepper (A); cf. home, bitter (A)  
 maka, to use (A)  
 mallix, favor (A)  
 mul, to boil up (as water) (H)  
 tamōxga, night (K); tanga, night (A)  
 yám, to drink (A)  
 sōm, sound (A)  
 sōmahī, to leave for good or for a long time (H); sōwa, to move, to migrate (H)  
 yam, to live with (H)  
 hēman, again (K)

NATCHEZ *w* = MUSKHOGEAN *w*

wehe, wex, to overtake; cf. we, to gather, to heap up

wai, to send, to want one to do something, to ask

wia, to lead

wác (gup), dog

widic, to come out

widī, to move, life; widic, to go back and

wehe, we, to hunt for (K, A)

wāi, to offer, to sell, to throw (into water, etc.) (H)

wai, to lead, to beat, to surpass, in excess (H)

wásō, wolf (K, A); nácōba, wolf (C)

witak, to open up (H)

wili, to move, to stir (H); walatcki or walak-

forth ; wiyaa(p), dance leader ; wīt, to float, to fly along ; wil(hálic), wheel ; cf. wix, to blow (of wind), to swing, to flap

waye, weye, to stop

wē', to bark (as a dog)

wát(a), to be lost ; wát(a), to die  
wil (sing.), bëget (pl.), to fly

tcī, circular (H) ; wolóki, spherical (H) ; cf. win, to rock (A)

wē(ka), to stay, to dwell (A) ; fai, to leave, to quit, to stop (A) ; aipa, to stop someone (H)  
wōx, to bark (as a dog) (K) ; wuhux, to bark (as a dog) (H)

wāsa, to be lost (K, H sing.)

wai(ga), to fly (K) ; yaka, to fly (H)

NATCHEZ *g, k* = MUSKHOGEAN *g, k*.

kets, to work (with prefix gin-)  
gōlō, to bury ; gōlōm, deep, a hollow

gác, to dig

gai, to gnaw

gao, to dip

gōt, to scratch, to pull ; kuc, to comb ; gwát, to scrape, to shave

gwál, to lean on the arm, to lean something against a tree, etc.

gōnō, crooked, bent ; gōnōts, curly

gat, to pull out

kun, water ; cf. Chitimacha ku

gū, to give

guk, to throw down

gwet, to hide, to do secretly

pāka, to float

baka, to throw into the mouth quickly, to gobble up by the handful ; buk, to sprinkle ; buguł, to pour on

mak', to do, to make

gił, to scratch

lalak, goose

lūkō, to stand

lūkat, thick, waxy, muddy (as muddy water)

helekcen, breath

heck, tube, pipe, navel

cōgōni, good

džák', back ; yákdžák', back

tākāt, to work (H)

kōlōkbe, valley, hollow (A) ; hōlla, to bury (H) ; hōp, to bury (H) ; hōx(tc), to dig (K)

kae, to dig (H)

kalif, to gnaw (H)

gahawa, to dip (H)

kōx, to scratch (H)

gō(li), to brace (H) ; gūm, to set to brace (H)

kōtōk, crooked, bent (H) ; gōnū, to roll (K)

kita, to untangle (H)

ōki, water (H, K, A) ; ōka, water (C)

ga, to give (K, A)

gas, to throw (A)

kōka, to hide (as a child does) (A)

pakai, to float (K) ; bāga, to float (H)

bakax, to throw (in no specified way) (H) ; bāka, to throw down (A)

maka, to use (A)

kal to check up or scratch (A)

salákálá, goose (K) ; hasali, goose (H)

yūkō to stand (G)

lōkfī, earthy matter, dirt, clay (H)

álikta, doctor (M) ; aliktci, doctor (K, A) ;

ayiktci, doctor (H) ; hilis, medicine (M)

ūaktci, navel (H)

ganō, good (A) ; tcaxni, healthy, well (H)

tciknał(on), back of anything (H) ; atcaki, to follow (K, A)

oktsötsō, hip; öka, backsides

dzítak, cold

hágán, to get to the top

hagao, tobacco

itögöl, bag, sack

tak, something soft, likes flour or dust

tolokc, hide, skin

dik, to catch and hang

hoktci, hip (H); cf. wákha, back (A)

gasatga, kasatka, cold (K, A)

ök-öhaguna, on top of the water (H)

(h)aktcōmi, tobacco (H, K); háktcōma, tobacco (A); hitci, tobacco (M)

atōktci, atoxtci, hunting-bag, bullet-pouch (A)

tilik, to soften (H); tákōtc(ki), broken (M);

táklai, bread (M)

afaktci, hide, skin (A)

áták, to hang (A)

NATCHEZ *n* = MUSKHOGEAN *n*.

en', fish

nex, grease; nexgui, fat

nū, to sleep

in't(a), tooth

ents, unts, heart; ents(taya), I love

inō, under, beneath

náni, fish (C); láfi, fish (H)

nihahctci, lard, fat (H); nia, niha, fat (K)

nūtc, to sleep (G)

nōti, tooth (H)

anūka, love (H); ánōki(tcka), love (M)

nūta, under, beneath (K, A)

NATCHEZ *b* = MUSKHOGEAN *b*

hágán, to get to the top

hólōx, to climb

hagao, tobacco

hixwa, hornet

ha, to make; hanu, law

hábéc, bark

hī, squirrel

homiyaga, a long time ago; hū(gūpcitcūne),  
after a while

hom, to let go, to send away, to abandon

lihi, to itch

hū, to put in; hūc, inside

hōk', to skin; cf. gaōx, to untie or strip off

ham(ip), warm, south; hák, afire

hēya tired

hō, to howl; hōk, to whistle

ök-öhaguna, on top of the water (H)

ahōna, to climb (H); önō, to climb (K)

(h)aktcōmi, tobacco (H, K); háktcōma, tobacco (A); hitci, tobacco (M)

hōfi, bee (H)

hah, custom; hayē(ta), to make (M); ahaka,  
custom, law (M)

halbi, bark (H)

hihi, squirrel (H)

hōpa, far, distant; hōpaki, distant (A); hōtca,  
a long time ago (A); cf. hōta, big (pl.) (H)

hon, to leave, to quit, to abandon (H); hoxs,  
to lose oneself (K)

wasihi, to itch (H)

hutmi, to close, to shut in (H); afōks, to be  
or go inside (H); hayōgi, inside (H);  
hayōxki, deep (H); hōkfi, to put into (K)

hōfa, to pull off (H)

hayi, ripe, hot (H)

hōyup, hōyap, tired (A)

hō<sup>n</sup>x, to whoop (H); hōpa(n), to sing (H)

NATCHEZ *l* = MUSKHOGEAN *l*, (*l*)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| olô, turtle  | holawi, turtle (A)   |
| lebu, to turn over   | tipi, to turn over (A)   |
| lalak, goose   | salákálá, goose (K); hasali, goose (H)   |
| halac, to watch, to take care of   | hālat, to hold (H)   |
| wala, fork   | falakti, fork (H); falakto, fork (A); alape', a forked stick (K)   |
| ōlô, to stoop or bend over   | ōlôp, to bow the head (H); ōlök, to turn back, to return (H) (see next entry)  |
| lügü, to turn back; lübü, to turn round; lüdü, round, rounded, to go round; lütum(güp), a circle | ila, to arrive back (G); alök, back, again (H); lök, back, again (H); lö, to return (A); il-, (reflexive prefix) (G); yāla, to return (H)          |
| lehe, to shave, to cut; lakaox, to smooth, to plane  | fahi, to comb (H)  |
| uxle, to pity, to treat in a pitiable manner; untle, to implore, to beg, to ask forgiveness      | (n)ōlôm, poor, pitiable, sorry (H)   |
| wāldū, walt, town  | ōla, town (A) ökli, people (H) ökla, people (C)  |
| kilip, to whirl around   | fil(i), to turn or roll (A)  |
| wilax, to hide   | hōlam, to hide (H); ahōpa, to hide (K); cf. hōlas, to lie, to tell a falsehood (K)   |
| lawal, near  | lapa, near (G); awili, near (H); la, just, close to (H)  |
| le, to burn, to boil, to cook; luk, to boil  | lakha, warm, summer (H); luksi, hot (K); liba, to burn, to cook, ripe (K); lahpa, to heat (A); lukba, hot (A); lakha, warm (A); lebāt, to cook (A) |
| lem, to shine  | laf, to shine (H); lamahli, lightning (H)  |
| inkala, inkalaha, part   | alah(ki), part (H); alax, part (A)   |
| lata(gup), all   | lap(ki), all (H)   |
| lepe, to taste   | leiki, to taste (H); lāsap (sing.), to taste (A)   |
| lep, limber  | lipha, soft, pounded fine (A); libalot(osok), weak (H)   |
| lūkat, thick, waxy, muddy (as muddy water)   | lökfi, earthy matter, dirt, clay (H)   |
| le, big  | alok, big, much (K); lākko, big (M)  |
| iligi, acorn   | āli, nut, fruit (A); itali, acorn (A); yili, seed (H); asaiki, acorn (H)   |
| lepep, to stick together   | latci, to unite (H); lapa, to stick on (A); lakpa, to stick (A)  |
| laox, to pursue  | akalax, to chase something around (H); toho, to pursue (K)   |
| helô, tired  | lōx, lōnx, tired (K)   |



|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| helekcen, breath                 | álíktca, doctor (M); alíktci, doctor (K, A)  |
| hála, to lay; holi, to lie (pl.) | ayíktci, doctor (H); hiliis, medicine (M)  |
|                                  | tála (sing), sala (dual and pl.), to lie, to lay (H); bála, to lie (K); tala, to lay (K) |

NATCHEZ *í* (I) = MUSKHOGEAN *í*, (I)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| ál, át, to shoot and hit, to sting                              | láhi, há, hi, to shoot and hit (H); hól, to shoot and hit (K)                  |
| gíł, to scratch   | kal, to check up or scratch (A)  |
| gwát, to run (sing.); hégeł, to run (pl.); dúł, to run off with | wále (sing.) tól (pl.), to run (K, A)  |
| gwał, to be destroyed, to disappear                             | nágát, to disappear, to be gone (K, A); cf. inókil, to stop (H)                |
| alts, grape   | bałbi, grape (H)   |
| tsół, to burn, to set fire                                      | yíli, to burn (H); héli, to take fire (K); hólí, to boil (H); hól, to cook (K) |
| tedet, noise of tearing   | filáf, to tear (A)   |

NATCHEZ *é* = MUSKHOGEAN *é*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| uc, duck                                      | fótci, duck (H)   |
| culú(p), spider                               | hatcúlani, spider (H)   |
| heck, tube, pipe, navel                       | úaktci, navel (H); cf. hiski, feather, hair (H); hisi, hair (K)   |
| ici, tail                                     | hatci, tail (K, M)  |
| ctł, big                                      | tcóbi, big (H); tcóba, big (K, A); tcitto, big (C); ictó, big (Chickasaw)   |
| aca, hickory                                  | ótca, hickory (H); ótca, hickory (A)  |
| gwaciu, bead (from guac, mussel, bivalve)     | nakasi, bead (H); oktcupi, bead (A)   |
| hacti(p), an old person; eneca, something old | atciba, a long time, long ago (H); hamuxcti, an old person (H); akóxtcósuk, old (K); atcóba, an old person (K); si'nó, sehenó, old (A); atculi, an old person (M) ahassi, old (M) |
| có, a woman's breast                          | tcónó(gon), breast (general) (H); tcikpe, breast (general) (A)  |
| cómikt, a fly; cóm, to buzz                   | tcówani, fly (H)  |

NATCHEZ *é* = MUSKHOGEAN *é*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| cawic, locust; cilatki, grasshopper; tsikiiku, katydid | sóisoi, a kind of grasshopper (H); gasasa, katydid (H) |
|--|--|

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>acuc, vine</p> <p>cō, to put on the shoulder</p> <p>cut, to stretch</p> <p>cili, slippery elm</p> <p>citsa, dew</p> <p>mic, bad</p> <p>cix, enough</p> <p>cōgólts, box, trunk</p> <p>hecel, basket</p> <p>yānaca, bison</p> <p>tsicū, shade</p> <p>kwaxci(p), sun, moon</p> <p>cē, cā, to tear</p> <p>ica, up, above</p> <p>ica(haic), afterward ; ica(haici), last</p> | <p>aksi, root, rope (H) (k before another consonant is frequently dropped in the Muskogean languages)</p> <p>saka, to put on the shoulder (H) ; tcono, to carry on the back (H)</p> <p>sata, to crawl (H)</p> <p>siliti, slippery elm (H)</p> <p>sitci, dew (H)</p> <p>pīsa, bad (A)</p> <p>-(o)si, just, near, enough (H)</p> <p>soktci, bag (H)</p> <p>asāla, basket (K)</p> <p>yānasi, bison (H) ; yánasa ; bison (M)</p> <p>hōsō, to be shady (H)</p> <p>hasi, sun, moon (G) ; hasa, to shine (H)</p> <p>sihi, to pull off (K) ; sās, to skin (K)</p> <p>isbáko, head (K, A) ; yōsi, head (H)</p> <p>asa, to follow (A)</p> |
|--|---|

NATCHEZ *dʒ, ts* = MUSKHOGEAN *tc*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>dzō, to rest against, to touch ; tsómōt, tsimit, pile, mound, to pile</p> <p>dzi (sing.), dukci (dual), go (pl.), to sit</p> <p>idzák, to tie</p> <p>tsigíc, small ; tsitsi, infant</p> <p>tsak, to rattle</p> <p>dzaga, to chew</p> <p>tsaotsa, red-headed woodpecker</p> <p>dzák', back ; yákdzák', back</p> <p>dzi, to fall, to lie</p> <p>tsōix, squash</p> <p>oktsōtsō, hip ; ōka, backsides</p> <p>dza, to go into, to enter ; dzák, to stab, to stick into ; dzōk, confluence of a river ; dzul, to break</p> | <p>tcōpōk, piled, set to (H)</p> <p>tcōkō (sing.), wika (dual), ili (pl.), to sit (H) ; tcōkō (sing.) tcikí (pl.), to sit (K, A)</p> <p>atcit(e), to tie (A) ; táktcō, to tie (A) ; asihi, to tie (K)</p> <p>kitcik, short (H) ; wiktca, small, an infant (sing.) (H) ; ōtcaxbi, young (H) ; -otci, diminutive ending (H)</p> <p>sawa(ki), to rattle (H) ; tcasapa, to rattle (A) ; tcalapa, to rattle (A)</p> <p>tcafo, to take into the mouth (H)</p> <p>tcahali, or tcakali, red-headed woodpecker (H)</p> <p>tciknaʎ(on), back of anything (H) ; atcaki, to follow (K, A)</p> <p>tcilaf, to fall and lie (K) ; tcila, to fall (K)</p> <p>tcuksi, pumpkin (H, A)</p> <p>hoktci, hip (H) ; cf. wákha, back (A)</p> <p>tci, to go into, to enter (H) ; tcif, to pierce (H) ; tcak(a), to chop (H) ; tciafi, ax (H) ; tcipi, to set up in ground (H) ; tsō, to strike (H) ; tcuk, to enter (K) ; tcák, to cut (K)</p> |
|---|---|

kets, to break  
dza, deer

dzi, to have, to own  
tsöl, pine  
náxts, throat

tsac, to stand

tcafi, ax (K); atcös, to stick into (A); tcil,  
to stick into (A)  
kös, to cut, to sever (H); kátc, to break (M)  
itci, deer (H); itcö, deer (K, A, M); isi, deer  
(C)  
hitc, to have, to own (H)  
tcüli, pine (M); tcüyi, pine (H, K)  
nökbebe, neck (H); naktci, chest (H); nökbí,  
throat (A)  
hatca, to stand (G); tcäihí, elevated, a hill;  
tcigax(na), to pile up into a cone

NATCHEZ *dʒ, ts* = MUSKHOGEAN *s*

nets, to laugh  
tsöx, to dry

dzitak, cold  
tsix, to fry  
tsua, to wash  
dzál(t), to saw

atsa, war-club

nas, funny, comical (A)  
sukü, to dry something (H); süla, to dry  
something (K)  
gasatga, kasatkax, cold (K, A)  
sawe, to fry (K)  
oksax, to wash (H); asi, aci, to wash (A)  
sö', söhö, to saw (K, A); sáha, to scratch (K);  
sap, to scratch (H, M)  
atasi, war-club (H)

NATCHEZ *dʒ* = MUSKHOGEAN *t*

dzü, tree  
hödza, middle

itö, tree (K, A, M); iti, tree (C)  
höta, middle (K, A); höka, half, near the middle  
(A); cf. fatca, straight up, noon (H, K)

## MISCELLANEOUS

töx, equal, even, same as  
tix, to seize, to catch  
yoba, to rain  
haox, to yawn

aox (sing.), awa (pl.), to help  
hem, to spoil, to hurt  
haän, yes  
tuna, to thunder; cf. dü, to hum (like a bee);  
dux, to hiss  
ama, to have  
mac, to cut up fine, to whittle  
dáp(gup), quickly

töga, to reach (H)  
têx, to pull (K)  
öiba, öyiba, to rain (K, A); öba, to rain (H)  
hawak, to open the mouth (H); hafí<sup>n</sup>ba, to  
yawn (H)  
awex, to help (K); asa, to help (H)  
hampi, bad, to spoil (H); yamö, to hurt (K)  
ehe<sup>n</sup>, yes (H)  
tünux, to thunder (H); wêne, to thunder (K)  
  
awa, to have, to get (pl.) (H)  
watc, to cut to pieces (pl. of kös) (H)  
pat(ki), fast (H); pál(ki), fast, quick (K, A)

mol, to drown

aha, pond

ai, to think

ananaix, bullfrog

at, leg

ats, potato

axti, to start to go; biti, to keep going or moving about (s.); bátá, to come (pl.)

da, to hit; da, to kill

dik, to catch and hang

döm', person

dõt, to descend

el, to see

gaha(p), to shine, white; cf. haiap, yellow, green

göyö, to dance, spirit

hâta, to weave

hkû, to drink; cgû, to eat

hûbak, to jump

ihi, mouth; hi, to say

ita'nû, to meet

itögöl, bag, sack

ix, to carry, to bring; ic, hand (cf. infinitive suffix -ic)

lpuna, to think

mix, to throw away

nacukta, sky

oi, to cook

ötçine, hungry

ox, to finish killing

öx, to add, to make more, to increase

camáts, nose; cim(hawic), to blow the nose, handkerchief

tak, something soft like flour or dust

tolokc, hide, skin

lub, to sink, to dive, to drown, to cover something (H); cf. möi, to swim (A)

ayupi, pond (H); ayipi, pond (A)

ak, to think (H); al, to think (K, A)

hanönö, bullfrog (K)

iyi, leg (H); ili, leg (M)

ahi, potato (H); aha, potato (K)

aña, to start to go (G); ati, to come (M); önti, to come (G)

tax, to stick into (as a knife) (A)

áták, to hang (A)

yati, person (H); ate, person (K, A); hâtak, person (C); isti, person (M); cf. Choctaw tamaha, town

töl, to fall (A)

hitc, to see (G)

hayat, light, dawn (H); hat(ki), white (G)

föyö, to circle around (A)

tâl, to weave (H)

iski, to drink (H); akni, to be full (K); iska, to drink (K, A)

tölöp, to jump (H); tcöfut, to jump (K)

itci, mouth (A); cf. hih, to shout (H); hilaih, to cry, to weep (H); hila, to whisper (H)

tanax, to meet (H); cf. tana, to kneel, to bend (A)

atöktci, atöxtci, hunting bag, bullet-pouch (A)

isi, to take, to hold (G); is- with (instrumental prefix) (G)

apöfti, to think (H); pona, to teach, to learn (A)

piř, to throw away (H); piha, to spill (H);

pila, to pour or shake down (H)

uxtali, sky (H)

nöha, to cook (H)

ötçaf, hungry (H); agan, hungry (K)

oksi, to kill (pl.) (H)

awa, to add (A)

ibicane, nose (ibi probably a reflexive element)

tilik, to soften (H); tákötç(ki), broken (M); táklaiki, bread (M)

afaktci, hide, skin (A)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>tūḷ, to push<br/> uktá, forehead; uktuḷ, eye</p> <p>wata, long<br/> wet, to speak, to talk</p> <p>wī, ground, land</p> <p>wīda<sup>n</sup>, one; awiti, two; dūū<sup>n</sup>, folded, "fold"<br/> (in counting); dugu, to roll; dūdū, roller,<br/> wheel, dūlum, to roll, to revolve; dán-<br/> (dual affix); dūcū, bent</p> <p>wit, day</p> <p>wits, to tell<br/> yūxtaḷ, black walnut</p> | <p>tili, to draw away, to push away (A)<br/> ibitala, face, forehead (ibi is probably reflexive)<br/> (A); tiḷo, eye (K); iti, eye (H)</p> <p>batc, long (H); bas, long (K)</p> <p>nāte, to talk (K, A); āna, to speak (H); ni,<br/> to speak (A)</p> <p>ihani, ground, land (K); hakáni, ground, land<br/> (H); ikáni, ground, land (M); cf. Atakapa<br/> and Chitimacha nē, land</p> <p>ita, other, another (M); ita(ton), other,<br/> another (H); iti each other; atokla, two;<br/> it'ta, together (A); tuk, to split in two (H);<br/> tōnō, to roll (A)</p> <p>ni'ta(k), day (H); ni'ta, day (K, A); cf. nīla,<br/> night (K, A)</p> <p>fāt, to tell (A)</p> <p>yahi, black walnut (H); ha'he, black walnut<br/> (A)</p> |
|--|--|

THE RIVAL WHALERS, A NITINAT STORY  
(Nootka Text with Translation and Grammatical Analysis).

BY EDWARD SAPIR.

The following text was dictated to me in November, 1913, by Tom (*Sa'ya't'capus* "Stands up high on the beach"), one of the oldest and best informed men of the *T'suca'-'ath* tribe of Nootka. The grammatical analysis should give a serviceable idea of Nootka structure, pending the appearance of a full grammar of the language. The phonetic system used in this paper is explained in "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages, Report of Committee of American Anthropological Association" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 66, no. 6, 1916, particularly pp. 7-15); my *u*, however, is always open, as in English *full*, and varies freely with close *o*. The tale is Nitinat (Nootka dialects south of Cape Beale, including Makah of Cape Flattery, Washington), but its linguistic form is Nootka proper (*T'suca'-'ath* dialect), except for the names of the rivals, which are unmodified Nitinat.

TEXT AND INTERLINEAR  
TRANSLATION

|   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| 'o'sum't'catl <sup>1</sup>                    | ma''ak' <sup>2</sup>                     |   |
| Now trained secretly for success in so and so | California whale                         |   |
| t'h'to'p' <sup>3</sup>                        | k'wa'lis:ts. <sup>4</sup>                | w'e'tcu''atl <sup>5</sup>                         |
| humpbacked whale                              | K'walisits.                              | Now went to sleep,                                |
| hawi''atl <sup>6</sup>                        | 'o'sum'tc. <sup>7</sup>                  | t's't'k'p'atl <sup>8</sup>                        |
| now finished                                  | train secretly for success in so and so. | Now lay down in the house on (his) back           |
|   |  | 'i'nik''i'. <sup>9</sup>                          |
|   |  | w'k'atluk' <sup>10</sup>                          |
|   |  | t's't'k'p:tl' <sup>11</sup>                       |
|   |  | the fire. Now of (him) lie down in the house      |
|   |  | was not on (her) back                             |
|   |  | to'ts'ma' <sup>12</sup>                           |
|   |  | t'iqw'atl. <sup>13</sup>                          |
|   |  | 'na'ts'a'ttl' <sup>14</sup>                       |
|   |  | woman, now sat in the house                       |
|   |  | Now was looking at                                |
|   |  | t'aci''ak' <sup>15</sup>                          |
|   |  | 'a'the'. <sup>16</sup>                            |
|   |  | ya't' <sup>17</sup>                               |
|   |  | the door of (them) be night. There                |
|   |  | ka'th'catl' <sup>18</sup>                         |
|   |  | t'aci''i'. <sup>19</sup>                          |
|   |  | t'oh't'sit'. <sup>20</sup>                        |
|   |  | appeared the door head.                           |
|   |  | qwa' <sup>21</sup>                                |
|   |  | qw'e''t'q' <sup>22</sup>                          |
|   |  | k'a'yu'muni'. <sup>23</sup>                       |
|   |  | Was in quality as is in panther.                  |
|   |  | quality   |
|   |  | ya't' h't'at' <sup>24</sup>                       |
|   |  | si't'a' <sup>25</sup>                             |
|   |  | t'oh't'sitat''i'. <sup>26</sup>                   |
|   |  | There of (him) tail the head of (him),            |
|   |  | was at  |
|   |  | qwa'' <sup>27</sup>                               |
|   |  | 'ah''a'. <sup>28</sup>                            |
|   |  | wik' <sup>29</sup>                                |
|   |  | was in quality this. Was not                      |
|   |  | t'la''ya'x. <sup>30</sup>                         |
|   |  | ya't'   |
|   |  | h:tsa'q't'so' <sup>31</sup>                       |
|   |  | move quickly. There was provided at each end with |
|   |  | t'oh't'sit'. <sup>32</sup>                        |
|   |  | su'kwit' <sup>32</sup>                            |
|   |  | tca'kopokw'i'. <sup>33</sup>                      |
|   |  | head Took hold of the husband of (her)            |
|   |  | to'ts'me'i'. <sup>34</sup>                        |
|   |  | tci'tc:tl' <sup>35</sup>                          |
|   |  | tlup'k'sa'p'atl'. <sup>36</sup>                   |
|   |  | the woman. Pulled, now caused to wake up.         |
|   |  | tlu'p'k'cit' <sup>37</sup>                        |
|   |  | k'wa'lis:ts.                                      |
|   |  | ya't'   |
|   |  | Woke up K'walisits. There was                     |
|   |  | t'o't'oh'tsaq't'so' <sup>38</sup>                 |
|   |  | su'kwit'  |
|   |  | ts'kumni'. <sup>39</sup>                          |
|   |  | Head-at-each-end. Took hold of the iron           |

'ak'i<sup>39</sup> k'wal'sits t'ci'cutt<sup>40</sup> 'a'h<sup>41</sup>  
 of (him) K'walisits, cut this,  
 hɛ's'a'p<sup>42</sup> 'ah<sup>43</sup>ko<sup>43</sup> 'a'ap'tsut'atcat'i<sup>44</sup>  
 caused to bleed this the thigh of (him).  
 tuxtspa<sup>45</sup> k'wal'sits. t'ci'cutt<sup>46</sup>  
 Jumped over K'walisits. Cut also  
 kw'isa's'at'i<sup>47</sup> tli'cthni<sup>48</sup> hɛ's'cut<sup>49</sup>  
 the other side of (him) foot. Bled.

kw'i'spano'tci'at<sup>50</sup> hɛ's'im'yaw'at<sup>51</sup>  
 Now began successively now became blood-  
 (to jump) from side to side, covered  
 t'o't'oh'tsaq't'so'i<sup>52</sup> qah'ci'et<sup>53</sup> t'o't'oh'a-  
 the Head-at-each-end. Now died the Head-  
 tsaq't'so'i<sup>54</sup> 'u'yutci'tci'at<sup>54</sup> qwi'sh'at<sup>55</sup>  
 at-each-end. Now began to Now was acting  
 make medicine. thus that  
 'a'yun'k'ci'at<sup>56</sup> ma'ak<sup>57</sup>  
 now began to obtain many California whale.  
 in hunting

'napxta'atqo'wɛ'in<sup>57</sup> t'saxci'etqo'<sup>58</sup>  
 Now would die imme- whenever now speared.  
 diately, it is said,

'ah'a'atwɛ'in<sup>59</sup> tla'o'at<sup>60</sup>  
 Now was thus, it is said, now another was also  
 t'so'ut'ch'cit<sup>61</sup> wɛ'it'cah's'at<sup>62</sup>  
 winter take place. Now was sleeping in (his)  
 canoe

k'wal'sits h'i't 'anah'is<sup>63</sup> t'ca'pats<sup>64</sup>  
 K'walisits, was at little canoe  
 'athe'<sup>65</sup> 'oyo'al'at<sup>65</sup> kw'istsatcit<sup>66</sup>  
 be night. Now perceived the, as they say, "go  
 so and so off elsewhere"

'ɔ'h'at<sup>67</sup> tca'ats'ib<sup>68</sup> 'ukla<sup>69</sup>  
 now the one was Cha'atssib' was named so  
 and so

'ɛ'm'ina'k<sup>70</sup> tla'o' 'o'o'tah<sup>71</sup>  
 have as name, was another hunt such and such  
 sea-mammals.

t'h''wɛn'ap'at<sup>72</sup> kwa'lsits 'ani<sup>73</sup>  
 Was caused to be laughable K'walisits that  
 qa'ya'panatq<sup>74</sup> wɛ'it'ca' w'k'af'atq<sup>76</sup>  
 being drifting being sleeping, being now not  
 aimlessly aware of  
 kw'istsatcit<sup>77</sup> 'na's<sup>78</sup> hac'i'ctit<sup>79</sup>  
 being "going off else- day. Heard about  
 whither"

k'wal'sits 'an<sup>73</sup> t'h''wɛn'ap'at'qa'<sup>80</sup>  
 K'walisits that being caused to be laughable.  
 ya'k'ci'et<sup>81</sup> h'maqsti<sup>82</sup> w'k'  
 Of (him) became sore heart, was not  
 citstc'<sup>83</sup> h'c'sasa<sup>84</sup> tlo'ow's<sup>85</sup>  
 move inland, stayed right on Tlo'owis.  
 the beach

citstc'<sup>86</sup> ni'ti'na'ath<sup>87</sup> 'utsatci'et<sup>88</sup>  
 Now moved Nitinat now went off to so  
 inland people, and so

t'sa'akokw'i<sup>89</sup> w'i'napat<sup>90</sup> k'wal'sits  
 the stream of Now remained K'walisits  
 (them).

tlo'ow's h'i'at. w'k'i't'cut<sup>91</sup>  
 Tlo'owis now was at. Became non-existent  
 qo'as<sup>92</sup> 'o'sum'tc'at<sup>93</sup>  
 person. Now began to train secretly for  
 success in so and so

k'wal'sits ma'ak<sup>94</sup> h'c'nus'o-  
 K'walisits California whale. Began to  
 'uk'c'it<sup>94</sup> wa'tak<sup>95</sup>  
 move up and down (like a whale) Was bound for  
 blowing whale).

sayɛ'i<sup>96</sup> mo'tci<sup>97</sup> h'c'nso'uk<sup>98</sup>  
 the far- was for four move up and down  
 distant; days whale-fashion

mo'<sup>99</sup> 'na's mo' 'a'thai<sup>100</sup> huna's'ut<sup>101</sup>  
 four daylight four be night. Arrived at  
 kaxi'kus<sup>102</sup> 'ukte'e<sup>103</sup> nis'ma<sup>104</sup>  
 Kahikis the so-and-so-named land.

t'i'q'sat<sup>105</sup> k'wa'lisits. ya't  
Now sat down on the beach K'walisits. There

h'i'tah'tis<sup>106</sup> t'ca'pok'<sup>u</sup> 107 t'sa'ak't'. 108  
came down-stream canoeman the river.

t'aw'tci'et'<sup>109</sup> h:'s't'q'<sup>110</sup>  
Now was approached where (he) was on the  
beach

k'wa'lisits nawa'yis<sup>111</sup>  
K'walisits be seated on the beach looking  
around.

hunu'ta<sup>112</sup> h'i'tyin'<sup>113</sup> t'ca'pokw'i'.  
Went out of the the one at the canoeman.  
canoe the bow

s'ma'tsyn<sup>114</sup> m'ts'yt'<sup>115</sup>.  
(They) had sticking up in the bow spear.

t'i'q'st'ca'sa't'<sup>116</sup> k'wa'lisits 'o'h'at'<sup>117</sup>  
Was sat alongside of K'walisits was soed by  
on beach

t'ca'pokw'i'. qatcci'et'<sup>118</sup> 'o'qum'ham'a<sup>119</sup>  
the canoeman. Now was "It is fine  
nuded with weather,  
(his) elbow.

takha<sup>120</sup> 'ah' 'na's't'<sup>121</sup> wa'at'<sup>122</sup>.  
is it not? this the day," was said to (him).

'moqw'i'yu'tt'<sup>123</sup> k'wa'lisits h'e's'di'tci'a'h'<sup>124</sup>  
Became speechless K'walisits, became unable  
in (his) throat in any way

ts'q'cut'<sup>125</sup> qah'kwatci'at'<sup>126</sup> qa'yap't'xt'<sup>127</sup>.  
speak, of (him) the limbs of  
completely died (him).

ttz'k'ucit'<sup>128</sup> qo'as't'<sup>129</sup> ya'tscit'<sup>129</sup>  
Stood up the person, walked off

ho'a'tsatcitt'<sup>130</sup> t'ca'patsukw'i'<sup>131</sup>. hta'qsit'<sup>132</sup>  
go off back the canoe of (him). Went into  
(his) canoe

t'ca'patsukw'i'. t'e'h'cut'<sup>133</sup> ye +<sup>134</sup>  
the canoe of (him). Paddled off yonder,

ta'kh'atcitt'<sup>135</sup>. 'o'h'at'<sup>67</sup>  
became far out at sea. Now was the one

t'c:n'i'ath't'ca'<sup>136</sup>. 'oya'tt' ti'tcatc'et'<sup>138</sup>  
the, as they say, Now was at now come  
Ch'ini-person. such and such a to life  
time

t'e'h'c'et't'q'<sup>139</sup> t'ca'pokw'i' t'c:n'i'ath'e'<sup>140</sup>.  
when now the canoeman the Ch'ini-  
paddled off person.

su'kwit'<sup>141</sup> 'i'nax'mak'<sup>142</sup> tum't'sap'<sup>143</sup>.  
Took hold of the regalia of rubbed about  
(him), on the beach.

h'i's<sup>143</sup> 'ah'a'<sup>144</sup> mo'tci'ys'<sup>145</sup>.  
Was there on the that be for four  
beach days on the beach.

h'i'tats'o'h'atittla<sup>146</sup> qwa'yets'k'<sup>147</sup>  
Now came out of the woods also wolf.

t'aw'tci'et'ta<sup>148</sup> k'wa'lisits. tsusk'ci'etuk'<sup>u</sup> 149  
Was approached K'walisits. Of (him) was  
again urinated on

mu'tsm'o'haq'<sup>150</sup> k'wa'lisits. qwa'ak'<sup>151</sup>  
bearskin K'walisits. Of (him) was in  
quality

qwe'it'q'<sup>152</sup> kats'o'mni'<sup>153</sup>. 'ah'a'at'<sup>154</sup>  
as is in quality hail. Now was thus

haw't'at'<sup>155</sup> ho'atsatcitt' k'wa'lisits  
was now finished, went off back K'walisits

walci'et'<sup>154</sup> maht'ak'<sup>155</sup> ha'wi'tt'<sup>156</sup>  
Now returned the house of Was finished  
home (him).

t'so'atc'h'. t'cukwe'at'<sup>157</sup> ma'ak'.  
winter. Now began to run California whale.

t'sa'xcit' tca'ats't'b'. qa'h'sa'p'<sup>158</sup> ma'ak'<sup>159</sup>  
Speared Cha'atssib'. Caused to die the Califor-  
nia whale

ya'a'ni't'it'q'<sup>159</sup> t'it'wini'ap'at' k'wa'lisits.  
the one by whom caused to be K'walisits.  
had been — ed laughable

t'sa'xcit' 'yo'qwa'<sup>160</sup> k'wa'lisits. t'sa'xcitittla<sup>161</sup>  
Speared likewise K'walisits. Speared again



tca'ats'ɾ'b' hən'ɾ'p'tla' <sup>162</sup>. t'sa'xcit' 'yo'qwa'  
Cha'atssib', again obtained. Speared likewise

k'wal'sits hən'ɾ'p' 'yo'qwa' mo''y'p' <sup>163</sup>  
K'walisits, obtained likewise. Obtained four

tca'ats'ɾ'b' ma''ak' 'ana' <sup>164</sup>  
Cha'atssib' California whale, was only

kwa'l'sits su'ɾ'c'p' <sup>165</sup> ma''ak'.  
K'walisits obtain five California whale.

t'lu'p'ɾ'tch'at' <sup>166</sup> 'o'o'ɾ'eh'at' <sup>167</sup> 'ɾ'h'ato'p'.  
Became summer, began to be in whale.  
pursuit of so and so

t'sa'xcittla tca'ats'ɾ'b' 'ɾ'h'ato'p'.  
Speared again Cha'atssib' whale.

'o'w'ɾ'a'p'ap' <sup>168</sup> t'sa'xcit' tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
Repeatedly caused so and spear Cha'atssib'.  
so to be first

t'saxc'ɾ'et'la 'yo'qwa' k'wa'l'sits 'ɾ'h'ato'p'.  
Now speared likewise K'walisits the whale.  
again

mo''y'p'at'tla <sup>162</sup> 'ɾ'h'ato'p' tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
Now obtained four again whale Cha'atssib',

w'k'p'm'ɾ'at' <sup>170</sup> hən'ɾ'p' tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
now became unable obtain Cha'atssib'.

su'ɾ'c''y'p'at'tla' <sup>171</sup> k'wa'l'sits 'ɾ'h'ato'p'.  
Now obtained five again K'walisits whale.

su'ɾ'c''y'p'tla ma''ak'. hayo''y'p'at' <sup>172</sup>  
Obtained five also California Had obtained ten  
whale.

k'wa'l'sits 'a'tlakwah'p' <sup>173</sup> tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
K'walisits, obtained eight Cha'atssib'

'oyo'ah't' <sup>174</sup> 'ɔ'h' <sup>175</sup> kw'stsat'c'it'.  
the one who had be the one "go off else-  
perceived so and so wither".

'a'tlakwah'p' 'ɔ'h' 'ana k'wa'l'sits  
Obtained eight was the one, was only K'walisits

hayo''y'p' <sup>176</sup> ha''okwi'et' <sup>177</sup> k'wa'l'sits  
obtain ten. Now took revenge K'walisits

ya'a'nut'ɾ'it'q' <sup>159</sup> t'h''wan'ap'at'.  
the one by whom had been caused to be laugh-  
— ed able.

sa'tckok'ɾ'cac' <sup>178</sup> 'ɔ'u'y' <sup>179</sup> tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
"Of (him) is sharp medicine Cha'atssib'.  
evidently

'a'q'ɛn'q'ha <sup>180</sup> 'a'tlakwah'p' tca'ats'ɾ'b'.  
For what reason is obtain eight Cha'atssib'.  
he that

'a'n'aqa <sup>181</sup> 'ɔ'u'yiwat' <sup>172</sup> hayo''y'p'at'si' <sup>183</sup>  
being alone have medicine fall Now I obtained  
to (his) lot? ten

si''ya' <sup>184</sup> yaqe''s' <sup>185</sup> w'ɾ'k' 'ɔ'u'yiwat'  
I I who am not have medicine fall  
to (my) lot,"

wa''at' <sup>186</sup> k'wa'l'sits ha''okwi'et'.  
now said K'walisits now take revenge.

## TRANSLATION

K'walisits was training in secret for success in hunting California whales and humpbacked whales. And he went to sleep, having completed his ritual training. He lay down on his back near the fire, but his wife did not lie down on her back but sat up. She was looking at their door at night. There at the door appeared a head, looking just like a panther's. There was his head with a tail attached to it, that was what it was like. He did not move briskly. There he was with a head at each end.

The woman took quick hold of her husband, and pulled at him, endeavouring to wake him. K'walisits woke up. There was the supernatural being known as Head-at-each-end. K'walisits seized his iron knife and cut here, making bleed this thigh of his own. K'walisits jumped over him. He made a cut in his other leg. It bled. And so he continued, jumping from one side to the other, until the Head-at-each-end became all covered with blood and

died<sup>1</sup>. K'walisits proceeded to make medicine of him. And this is how he began to capture many California whales when he went out to sea. Whenever he speared, they say, they would die at once.

And then there came another winter. K'walisits was sleeping in his canoe, was in a little canoe through the night. Now there was one bearing the name of Cha'atssib', another whaler, who saw the thing they call "going off to another place"<sup>2</sup>.

K'walisits was laughed at because he was drifting about aimlessly, asleep, and because he was not aware that it was the season of "going off to another place". K'walisits heard about how he was being laughed at. His heart grew sore and he did not move inland with his people for the drying-of salmon but stayed right at Tlo'owis. The Nitinats moved inland, they went off to their river, but K'walisits remained behind there at Tlo'owis. All the people had gone.

And then K'walisits began to train secretly for success in hunting California whales. He began to imitate the movements, up and down, of a blowing whale, while on his way to a far-distant place; four days he made motions as of a whale, four spans of daylight and four of

1. The only way to kill this being is to sprinkle human blood over him.

2. The Nootka Indians believe that twice during the year, at unknown dates, a big lukewarm tide comes in at night and shifts everything about in the village, houses and all. After a short time everything is restored to its proper place. If one happens to be awake at such a time, he can train (*o's:m'itc*) for anything he pleases, such as wealth or success in whaling, and be sure of attaining his desire. Should he step into the water, however, he becomes paralyzed for life. He must step into a canoe or move back to higher ground. Signs of the approach of the mysterious "shift" are the birds starting in to sing and the mice running through the house. The people become very drowsy just before the "shift", so that few are fortunate enough to be awake during the spell and make "medicine" of it. K'walisits too was caught napping, great whaler though he was. His rival was more fortunate.

night. He came to the land which is called Kahikis.

K'walisits sat down upon the beach. Yonder on the river was a canoe-party coming downstream. They came near to where K'walisits was, seated on the beach and looking around. The one of the canoe-party that was at the bow came out of the canoe. They had a spear sticking up in the bow. Someone sat down alongside of K'walisits — it was the canoeman, who nudged him with his elbow. "It is fine weather today, what do you think?" he said to him, but K'walisits' voice stuck in his throat. He became unable to speak and his limbs became lifeless. The person stood up and walked back to his canoe. He went into his canoe, paddled off way yonder, until he was far out at sea. Now this one was he whom they call Ch'ini-person.

It was when the canoeman, the Ch'ini-person, set off that K'walisits came to life. He took his bearskin robe and rubbed it about on the beach<sup>1</sup>. For four days he stayed at that place. And then also a wolf came out of the woods. He came near to K'walisits and urinated upon his bearskin, and his urine was like hail. And then K'walisits was done and started back; he returned to his home.

When winter was over, the California whales began to run<sup>2</sup>. Cha'atssib' threw his harpoon and killed the California whale, he who had laughed at K'walisits. K'walisits too speared a whale. Again Cha'atssib' threw his harpoon and again he got his quarry. K'walis-

1. Wherever the Ch'ini-person had been in direct contact with the ground was medicine. In most Nootka tales, legendary or modern, of the acquirement of power, the seeker carries away with him an object granted by the supernatural being, some part or effluvium of his body, or some tangible evidence of direct contact with his body.

2. They migrate north with the coming of warm weather and touch at various points on the west coast of Vancouver Island at fairly regularly recurring dates.

its too speared a whale, he too got his quarry. Cha'atssib' secured four California whales, but it was K'walisits alone who got five of them.

The summer came and they started to hunt humpbacked whales. Once more Cha'atssib' threw his harpoon at a humpbacked whale. K'walisits too speared a whale. Each time he allowed Cha'atssib' to be the first to throw his harpoon. And then, once more, K'walisits too speared his whale. This time too Cha'atssib' secured four whales, but then he proved unable to get another. And K'walisits, once more, obtained five humpbacked whales. And he had obtained five California whales.

K'walisits had ten; Cha'atssib', the one who had seen the "going off to another place", had eight. He was the one who got eight whales, but it was K'walisits alone who obtained ten of them. Now K'walisits had his revenge on him by whom he had been laughed at. "I have found out that his medicine is sharp. Why has Cha'atssib' obtained but eight whales, seeing that he alone has had real medicine fall to his lot? And I have obtained ten, I who have had no medicine come to me", said K'walisits. He had his revenge.

#### GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS

1. 'o'-*smi'tc-atl* consists of radical element 'o-', derivative stem-suffix *-smi'tc-*, and word-suffix *-atl*, 'o-', lengthened from 'o- because of following *-smi'tc-*, is exceedingly common in Nootka in both noun and verb forms; it appears as 'o-, 'o'-, and as reduplicated 'o'o-, 'o'o'-, 'o'o'-, and 'o'o'o-', each of these forms being determined by the following element. It cannot be used as an independent element but needs always to be followed by a stem-suffix to specify its meaning. Its function is relational; it indicates the person, object, or activity required to limit the following element and frequently, as

here, anticipates a word of specific content (here *ma'ak'* and 'i-h<sup>a</sup>to'p'). The nature of the relation between 'o- and the suffixed element is implicit in the latter; thus, it may be construed objectively, as here, subjectively, genitively, causally, and in other ways. A form in 'o- always implies that the psychological interest centers in the person or object or idea with which the logically significant concept is connected, not in this concept itself. It may be translated A CERTAIN (PERSON, THING), SUCH AND SUCH A (PERSON, THING), SO AND SO. Verbs in 'o- should be conceived of as answering questions of the type "Who is it that...?" or "What did he...?" in contrast to questions of the type "What did he do?" Thus, 'o'*smi'tc ma'ak'* means not so much TO TRAIN SECRETLY FOR SUCCESS IN HUNTING CALIFORNIA WHALES AS WHAT ONE TRAINS SECRETLY FOR IS CALIFORNIA WHALES, RATHER THAN SOMETHING ELSE. CALIFORNIA WHALES, NOT SECRET TRAINING, is the psychological predicate and is anticipated by a place-filling 'o-; one can also say, more synthetically, *ma'ak'smi'tc* and 'i-h<sup>a</sup>to'p'*smi'tc*. There are practically as many verbs and nouns in 'o- as there are derivative suffixes and combinations of derivative suffixes to append to it, in other words, many hundreds. If the significant content of an 'o- word, that is, the idea expressed by the derivative suffix, is the true center of interest, 'o- is replaced by *h<sup>n</sup>(a)-*, *h<sup>u</sup>(a)-*, or an entirely different word is used. A few examples of 'o- words, with parallel and contrastive forms, will make these remarks clearer: 'o-'*ts* TO EAT SO AND SO, like 'i's<sup>u</sup>'-*qis* TO EAT MEAT, contrast *ha'w-* TO EAT (as such); 'o'o'-*tul* (reduplicated) TO DREAM OF SO AND SO, WHAT ONE DREAMS OF IS..., like *tutul'c-itul* TO DREAM OF A WOMAN, contrast *po'w<sup>u</sup>ts-* TO DREAM (as such); 'o-'*ha'* TO BUY A CERTAIN THING, like *tut<sup>u</sup>-ha'* TO BUY A WOMAN, TO MARRY, contrast *makw-* TO BUY; 'o-'*so'tt* THE ONE WHO DIES IS..., like *wik'-so'tt* NOBODY DIES,

contrast *qah-* TO DIE; *'o-'y:'ha'* THE CAUSE OF ONE'S DYING IS..., like *t'sax-'y:'ha'* TO DIE FROM BEING SPEARED; *'o-'y:'* TO GIVE A CERTAIN THING, like *mo-'y:'* TO GIVE FOUR THINGS, contrast *hvn-'i'* TO GIVE (as such); *'o-'m:'i'* SO AND SO'S SON, as verb THE ONE OF WHOM (HE) IS SON..., contrast *t'a'na'* CHILD.

*-smi'tc*, derivative verbifying suffix following stem form, TO UNDERGO SECRET RITUAL TRAINING IN ORDER TO GAIN SUCCESS IN...; it lengthens stem vowel if short. (Derivative suffixes leave the stem vowel unaffected, lengthen it if short, shorten it if long, or reduplicate the stem according to varying quantitative patterns). Cf. further *ti'tc-smi'tc* TO TRAIN FOR LONG LIFE (*ti'tc* TO BE ALIVE); *ha'wot-smi'tc* TO TRAIN FOR WEALTH (*ha'wot* CHIEF, *ha'wot-mw* WEALTH); *to'k'-smi'tc* TO TRAIN FOR SUCCESS IN HUNTING SEA-LIONS (*tok-o'k'* SEA-LION); *hi'tc-smi'tc* TO TRAIN FOR SUCCESS IN FISHING BY TORCHLIGHT (*hi'tc-ma'* TORCH). There are probably several hundred such verbifying suffixed elements in Nootka, many of them very specific in content, which differ from primary verb-stems not only in their position but in that they are always construed, according to an implicit syntactic relation, with a preceding denominative term (which may be a "noun" or a "verb" stem). Composition of primary stems is as good as unknown. *'o-smi'tc* is durative in aspect (all verbs have durative and momentaneous, or inceptive, aspects, most have also at least one iterative aspect, and many have still other aspects).

*-'atl*, word-suffix (i. e., attached to complete word, not stem) of colorless content. It may be translated NOW, THEN, AND THEN, SO; it seems to indicate state or activity at a given moment of time and implies that the verb form is finite. Its use is not obligatory, however. The 'of *-'atl* combines with preceding stop (*p*, *t*, *k*, *kw*, *q*, *qw*; *ts*, *tc*, *tl*) into glottalized stop (*p'*, *'k*, *k'w*, *'t*, *t's*, *t'c*, *t't* respectively; origi-

nal *q'* and *q'w* have become *'*, a peculiar glottal stop of strangled articulation and velar resonance); other consonants remain unaffected.

*'o-smi'tcatt* is absolute (of undetermined tense-mode) in form. Absolutes, with or without *-'atl*, are freely used in narrative; without *-'atl* they are frequently used as complementary infinitives (see note 7). Absolutes with 3d personal subject have no personal suffix (contrast 3d personal indicative forms: present *'o-smi'tcatt-ma'*; preterital *'o-smi'tcatt-u-a'*; future *'o-smi'tc-a-q'it-ma'*). The personal endings of absolute (or narrative) forms differ from those of indicative forms:

|          | ABSOLUTE                  | PRESENT INDICATIVE           |
|----------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-s'</i>    | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ah</i>       |
| 2.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-suk'</i>  | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ε'its</i>    |
| 3.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt</i>       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ma'</i>      |
| Plur. 1. | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-n'</i>    | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ni</i>       |
| 2.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-so'</i>   | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ε'itso'</i>  |
| 3.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt(-'at)</i> | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ma(-'at)</i> |

A third set of personal endings, used in various modal and subordinate forms and in possessives of nouns, is clearly related to the absolute series:

|          | INTERROGATIVE                | POSSESSIVE                        |
|----------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ha-s</i>     | <i>t'a'na'k'-qa-s</i><br>MY CHILD |
| 2.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ha-k'</i>    | <i>t'a'na'k'-'it'-qa-k'</i>       |
| 3.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ha'</i>      | <i>t'a'na'k'(-'i')</i>            |
| Plur. 1. | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-hε-ni</i>    | <i>t'a'na'k'-q-ni</i>             |
| 2.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ha-so'</i>   | <i>t'a'na'k'-'u'-q'-so'</i>       |
| 3.       | <i>'o-smi'tcatt-ha(-'at)</i> | <i>t'a'na'k'(-'i'-'at)</i>        |

2. Noun of uncertain analysis. *-'ak'* is probably durative intransitive (cf. *qah-ak'* TO BE DEAD; *'mo-'ak'* TO BURN [intr.]) or, what at last

analysis amounts to the same thing, absolute noun suffix (cf. *i'sa-ak'* TO FLOW, hence STREAM; *i'ca-ak'* WATER; *tca-ak'* ISLAND), but is now petrified. *ma-*, which does not occur alone, may be an old verb-stem (cf. Kwakiutl *ma-* TO CRAWL, TO SWIM ?) that has become obsolete; *ma-ak'* originally TO SWIM ABOUT, SLOWLY SWIMMING ANIMAL ?

3. *i'ha-to-p'*, literally BIG THING, BIG VARIETY (OF ANIMAL). *i'ha*, durative intransitive BIG, TO BE BIG; inceptive *i'wa-tciit* TO GET BIG, GROW UP (Nootka *h : w* < Wakashan *xw : w*; <sup>a</sup> of *h* indicates voiceless *a*-timbre of *h*, which colors and lowers following high vowels, e. g. *hes-* < *h<sup>a</sup>us-*, *h<sup>a</sup>s-* < *h<sup>a</sup>us-*). *-to-p'* (after consonants), *-cto-p'* (after vowels), shortened to *-(c)tup'* under appropriate rhythmic circumstances, noun-forming suffix added to verb stems, THING, KIND, CLASS (e. g. *'ah<sup>a</sup>-to-p'* DIVING KIND, SEA-MAMMAL, *kwis-to-p'* DIFFERENT KIND, SUPERNATURAL, ONE WHOSE NATURE IS ABNORMAL, *sa-cto-p'* CRAWL-KIND, ANIMAL WALKING ON ALL FOURS, *'o-cto-p'* SUCH AND SUCH A KIND, *kwkwis-tup'-sa-p'* [red.] TO CAUSE VARIOUS THINGS TO BE OF A DIFFERENT SORT, TRANSFORMER. *-to-p'* < *-to-m-*, cf. *kwisto-m-ah* I AM A DIFFERENT KIND OF BEING, AM SUPERNATURAL.

*ma-ak'* *i'ha-to-p'* are object of *'osumitcatt*, which they follow, as regularly; or, perhaps more accurately, they may be looked upon as merely appositional to *'o-*. Like all nouns not specifically distributive or plural in form, they are indeterminate in number. "And" is generally omitted in Nootka; *'u*, a conjunctive particle, may be placed between the two nouns.

4. A Nitinat name. *l* does not occur in Nootka except in songs for *n*. *K'wal'suts* is the subject of *'osumitcatt*; verb, object, subject — this is the most common Nootka order.

5. From *w<sup>e</sup>'ut-utl*, momentaneous form corresponding to durative *w<sup>e</sup>'ut* TO SLEEP, + *'att*. Momentaneous *-utl* is uncommon for primary

verbs (cf. also durative *-ap<sup>i</sup>* STANDING, UP IN THE AIR : momentaneous *-ap<sup>u</sup>l*; dur. *-tciit'* ON THE SURFACE OF THE WATER : mom. *-tciit<sup>i</sup>*; dur. *'aq'tt* INSIDE : MOM. *'aq'stu<sup>i</sup>*). Nearly all momentaneous or inceptive forms end in *-it*. This *-it* disappears before *'att*, passive (or possessive) *'at'*, imperative *'i'*, finalis *'a-*, irrealis *'a-h<sup>a</sup>* (see note 124), future *'uk'*; e. g. *-sa-<sup>a</sup>atl* (mom.) ON THE BEACH < *-satt* + *'att*, *-o-<sup>a</sup>at'* (mom. passive) ON THE FACE < *-o<sup>i</sup>tt* (cf. dur. *-o<sup>i</sup>t*) + *'at'*, *'i'i'* (mom. imperative) ON THE GROUND < *'utl* (cf. dur. *'as*) + *'i'*, *-c<sup>i</sup>-<sup>a</sup>-h<sup>a</sup>* IN ORDER THAT I MAY... < *-cut-* (see note 18), *-c<sup>i</sup>-<sup>u</sup>kh-ah* I SHALL... < *-cut-*. *'att* (see note 1). *w<sup>e</sup>'ucu<sup>i</sup>atl* is narrative absolute, 3d personal subject, as in note 1; this is true of all verb forms commented on in this text, unless otherwise explained.

6. From *haw<sup>i</sup>-it*, momentaneous form, TO CEASE. *-it*, momentaneous suffix, drops before *'att* (see note 5); comparatively few primary verbs add simple *-it* in their momentaneous form (cf. also *'a'ko-it* TO BORROW; *na'o-it* TO HAVE FOR EATING). Certain verbs, like *haw<sup>i</sup>-it*, are basically momentaneous because of their radical significance; they can form only a secondary quasi-durative by making an inceptive, more properly graduative, out of the momentaneous by lengthening its stem vowel, e. g. *ha'w<sup>i</sup>-it* TO BEGIN TO CEASE, TO BE FINISHING (cf. momentaneous *wal-citt* TO BE GONE HOME, TO RETURN HOME : graduative *wal-citt* TO BE GOING HOME, TO BE ON THE POINT OF RETURN HOME; mom. *ttawon<sup>i</sup>it* TO APPROACH : graduative *ttawon<sup>i</sup>it* TO BE APPROACHING, cf. static durative *ttawa<sup>i</sup>* TO BE NEAR). *'att*, see note 1.

7. See note 1. Depends as complementary infinitive upon preceding *haw<sup>i</sup>'att*. This use of an absolute verb form to complete the meaning of a preceding finite form is exceedingly common in Nootka. Note that *'o-* does not need to be specified by a following noun.

8. From *t'su'k'-putt*, momentaneous form, +*'att*; -*tt* lost as in note 5. *t'su'k-*, verb-stem TO LIE (IN BED) ON ONE'S BACK (aspirated stops are of purely secondary origin in Nootka, being developed from unaspirated surds when they stand at the end of a syllable or immediately before another consonant at the end of a syllable; to the two Kwakiutl series *d* [intermediate]: *t* [aspirated surd] corresponds a single Nootka series *t*, *t'*). -*putt*, momentaneous form of -*it*, locative suffix IN THE HOUSE. Examples of dur. -*it*: *moim*. -*putt* are *wé'tc-it* TO SLEEP IN BED: *wé'tc-putt* TO GO TO BED; *t'iqw-it* TO BE SEATED ON THE FLOOR: *t'iq'-putt* TO SIT DOWN ON THE FLOOR; *'nate-it* TO BE LOOKING (WHEN INSIDE THE HOUSE): *'nate-putt* TO LOOK DOWN (WHEN INSIDE). Every local and body-part suffix has a durative and a momentaneous form in -*it*, further an iterative with lengthened stem-vowel, lengthened suffix vowel, and change of momentaneous -*tt* to -*t*, e. g. *t'iq'-pit* TO SIT DOWN ON THE FLOOR SEVERAL TIMES. *'att*, see note 1.

9. *'wik'*, noun or durative intransitive, FIRE, TO BE BURNING (said of fire, not burning object). From original *\*an-ak'*; -*ak'*, durative intransitive suffix, see note 2. The common Nootka groups *wi'* and *wi'*, in which the *i* represents a murmured *i*-vowel, go back to fuller forms of type *a* (or *i*, *u*) + *n* or *m* + *a* (or *i*, *u*), in which the second vowel is unaccented (e. g. *-'att* MOMENTANEOUS SOUND: *'-en'* CONTINUOUS SOUND < *'-an'* < *\*-a'na*, in Wakashan terms *\*-q'a-it*: *\*-q'a-la*; *'and'h'-s* SMALL: reduplicated *'é'i'n'h'-s* SEVERALLY SMALL < *\*a'd'nab*). *-i'* (*-'* is merely a breath-release after all final vowels; it is not heard if the word is pronounced in close contact with the following word), suffixed definite article, often used as nominalizing element. Properly speaking, all "nouns" are indeterminately such, being formally identical with durative intransitives (e. g. *qo'as* A PERSON, TO BE A PERSON) until nominalized by

*-i'* or an equivalent element. Syntactically, *'wik'* is objectively related to the preceding verb; the difference between a direct object and an indirect object or local phrase (AT THE FIRE) does not exist for Nootka, because the indirect or local relation is generally expressed by a suffixed element in the verb or is otherwise absorbed in the verb; THE FIRE here amplifies the more general local idea of IN THE HOUSE conveyed by -*pu* (-*tt*), no specific rendering of *ON* AT OR NEAR being therefore necessary.

10. *wk-*, durative intransitive, TO BE NOT; *wk'* NOT, NO! is really verbal in form. *wk'* consists of archaic stem *w-* and durative intransitive -*k'*, cf. -*ak'*, -*'ak'* (notes 2, 9); most Nootka derivatives of TO BE NOT are based on *wk-* (e. g. *wk'ni'* TO BE NOT-STOCKED, TO HAVE NO FISH RUNNING UP IT; *wk'-laq'yu'* TO HAVE HAD NO VISITATION, TO BE UNINITIATED), but there are also a number of more archaic formations based on *w-* (e. g. *wi-'ma:k'it* TO BE UNABLE; *wi-'aq'it* A MAN IS ANGRY). *-'att*, see note 1. *-uk'* (after consonants), *-'ak'* (after vowels; often contracts with preceding vowel to *-a'k'*, *-ak'*), possessive word-suffix indicating that the subject of the verb is the owner of the following alienable noun (here WOMAN): HIS (WIFE) DID NOT, HE HAD (A WIFE) WHO DID NOT, *wk'atukwah* NOW MINE IS NOT, NOW I HAVE WHAT IS NOT; cf. notes 15, 24, 26.

11. See note 8. Complementary infinitive dependent on preceding verb. Negated statements are always expressed by treating the negative as the main verb and having the verb proper follow as an infinitive, e. g. *wk'isa hwn'* HE-WAS-NOT COME, HE DID NOT COME; *wk'it'sq'citt* DO NOT (imperative) TO-SPEAK! DO NOT SPEAK!

12. Absolute form of noun, assimilated from *to'tc-sma'*. *to'tc-*, lengthened from stem *tutc-* WOMAN; examples of derivatives are *tutc-i'h'* TO WANT, BE AFTER A WOMAN, *tutc-na'k'-citt* TO BEGIN TO HAVE A WOMAN, MARRY A WOMAN, *tutc-*

*tc'i'* TO LIVE AT ONE'S WIFE'S HOME, *lo'tc-aw:qc'* TO CALL FOR A WOMAN, *tututc-atah* (red.) TO GO AND SLEEP WITH A WOMAN IN ANOTHER HOUSE. *-sma'*, *-si'ma'*, absolutive stem-suffix lengthening stem vowel; not freely used as derivative element, probably compounded of absolutive elements *-s-*, *-si-* (cf. absolutive suffixes *-s-yi'*, *-s-yup'*, *-s-yini'*, *-si-mumi'*) and *-ma'* (cf. *li'tc:ma'* REDHEADED WOODPECKER), presumably reduced from older *\*-sa-* as indicated by irregular plural *lo'ts-sa'mu:hu'* WOMEN. Object of *wk'atuk'*, though logically subject of *wk'att* *i'si'k'puk'*.

13. *i'qwu-*, verb stem TO SIT; cannot be used without following local suffix, e. g. *i'e'-as* (< *\*i'q'w-as*) TO SIT ON THE GROUND, *i'qwu-as* TO BE SEATED ON, *i'e'-εh'ta'* TO SIT AT THE END, *i'q'-s'alo'-as* TO SIT ON THE GROUND AT THE DOOR. *-it'*, durative local suffix ON THE FLOOR, IN THE HOUSE; for corresponding momentaneous form see note 1.

14. Assimilated from *'na'tc-sa'tt* (cf. note 12). *'na'tc-*, lengthened from *'nate-*, verb-stem TO LOOK; other derivatives are *'nate-i'so'* TO LOOK INTO (A BARREL), *'nate-i'it'* TO LOOK INTO THE HOUSE, *'nate-a'yit'* TO BE LOOKING UP IN THE AIR, *'nate-mal-apt'* TO LOOK ALL AROUND, *'nat'c-aq'i't-a'a'* TO BE LOOKING INTO THE FIRE, *'na'tc-uk'* TO LOOK FOR, *'nate-u'at* TO SEE, *'na'na'i'c-a't* (red.) TO WATCH. *'na'ts-sa'* TO LOOK AT, WATCH, SEE is durative; as momentaneous is used *'nate-u'at* (*-u'at*, *-yu'at* TO GET SIGHT OF, PERCEIVE). *-sa'*, durative suffix lengthening stem-vowel, not freely used, cf. durative *-a'*; perhaps identical with stem-lengthening *-sa'* VERY, JUST, -MOST, TOO. *-sa'tt* is contracted from *-sa'-att* (*-att* contracts with certain preceding vowels to *-a'tt*, *-att*, according to rhythmic circumstances; e. g. *-apt'* STANDING + *-att* > *-apat'*, *-alo'* INTO THE WATER + *-att* > *-alatt*, durative *-a'* + *-att* > *-a'tt*, *-att*). *-att*, see note 1.

15. *i'aci'*, NOUN TRAIL, DOORWAY; absolutive

in *-i'*, stem *i'ac-* (e. g. *i'ac-wm'i* WITH A TRAIL IN THE CENTER). *-ak'* (after vowels; often contracts with preceding vowel to *-a'k'*, *-ak'*), *-uk'* (after consonants), possessive word-suffix for alienable nouns; for inalienable possession see note 26; for possessive paradigm, see note 1. THEIR is ordinarily not distinguished from HIS, HER, ITS. *-i'*, nominalizing element, see note 9; *i'aci''ak'* alone would mean TO BE ONE'S DOOR. *i'aci''ak''i* is object of *'na'ts-a'tt*.

16. *'ath<sup>o</sup>-*, verb-stem TO BE NIGHT, *'ath<sup>o</sup>-citt* NIGHT COMES. *'ath-e'* is durative in aspect; verb stems ending in *h* take *-e'*, *-e'* as durative suffix instead of normal *-a'*, *-a'*. Like other absolute durative forms, *'athe'* can be used adverbially; properly speaking, it is a complementary infinitive following *'na'ts-a'tt*.

17. Demonstrative pronoun and adverb, THAT, THERE; properly a verb TO BE THERE. It is based on simpler demonstrative *ya'*, *ya* THAT; for *-t*, probably an old local suffix no longer freely employed, cf. *hit* (note 24).

18. *kath<sup>o</sup>-*, verb-stem TO APPEAR, COME INTO VIEW. *-citt*, momentaneous (or inceptive) suffix. Most verbs form their momentaneous aspect by adding *-cv-tt* to the stem if it ends in a consonant, *-tc-tt* if it ends in a vowel, often *-kw-tt* (see note 32) if it ends in *u*, *o*. Complementary infinitive depending on *ya't*: THERE-WAS TO-APPEAR; *ya'tsi' kath<sup>o</sup>-citt* THERE I APPEARED, not *ya't kath<sup>o</sup>-cittsi'*.

19. See note 15. Object of *ya't kath<sup>o</sup>-citt*, *i'aci''i* amplifying the local idea in *ya't*; cf. note 9.

20. Absolutive. Noun-stem *i'oh<sup>o</sup>-* HEAD (e. g. *i'oh<sup>o</sup>-ni'* COD-HEAD THAT DRIFTS TO SHORE, *i'o'w-i's* TO EAT A FISH-HEAD). *-i'su'*, absolutive suffix, not otherwise found. Subject of *ya't kath<sup>o</sup>-citt*.

21. Properly *qwa'*, verb-stem and durative absolute TO BE IN QUALITY, TO BE LIKE.

22. Umlauted from *\*qwa'-i't'q'*; *a* and *a'* immediately followed by *i* or *i'* are umlauted to open *ε* and *ε'* (these vowels are felt as dis-

tinct from secondary *e*, *ε* and *e'*, *ε'* that are merely lowered from *i*, *i'* because of preceding or following velar consonant). *qwa'*-, see note 21. *'u'q'* third person relative or subordinate, indicating various subordinating relations, such as comparison, time, place, relative clause (cf. notes 110, 139, 159); the precise nature of the subordination depends on the verb. *'u'q'* may be considered as a nominalized form, parallel to *'i'* (see note 9), of the subordinate *-qa-* series (see notes 1, 74).

23. Absolutive form of noun. Stem *k'ayu'm-*, *k'ayup'-* (intervocalic *-m-*, *-n-* become stopped to *-p'*, *-t'* at the end of a syllable), e. g. *k'ayup'-q-i'nak* TO IMITATE A PANTHER IN A DANCE. *-m'*, absolutive noun suffix; other examples are *hεlc-m'* SMALL CLAM, *ho'p-m'* SALMON TROUT, *nxt-m'* SALMON-EGG, *'aw-m'* GRISTLE, *tca'skw-m'* BACKBONE, *ht-t'sa't-m'* SEA. Subject of subordinate clause *qwe'ε'u'q'*.

24. *ht*, verb-stem and durative absolute TO BE HERE, TO BE THERE, TO BE AT; probably consists of old demonstrative stem *h-* (cf. *huv-*, *ht-*, notes 1, 101; *hε-* TO BE AT SUCH AND SUCH A PLACE) + *-t-*, petrified local element (see note 17). *'at'* (often contracts with preceding vowel to *-a't'*, *-at'*; affects preceding consonants like *-att'*, cf. note 1), possessive word-suffix referring to possession of inalienable noun, nearly always body-part (cf. note 10 for corresponding alienable possessive suffix). *ht'at'* is complementary infinitive depending on *ya't*: THERE (HE) WAS WITH HIS (TAIL) AT, THERE HE (WAS) HAVING HIS AT.

25. Absolutive noun, TAIL (OF MAMMAL). Stem probably *su't-*; *-a'* absolutive noun suffix, identical with durative intransitive *-a'* (other nouns in *-a'* are *t'cha'* GHOST, *qama'* TRAP, *pa'ttpa'tta'* SUBSTANCE FOR FACE PAINT, *nat'ca'* TAIL [OF FISH], *kap'i'a'* POINTED STICK). Object of *ht'at'*, though logically subject of *ht*; cf. note 12.

26. Contracted from *t'oh'at'sat'* HEAD (see

note 20) + *'at'-i'*. *'at'*, identical with verb-suffix *'at'* (see note 24), inalienable possessive suffix appended to nouns, chiefly body-part nouns; for corresponding verbal and nominal alienable possessive suffix, see notes 10, 15. With pronominal elements *'at'* combines exactly as does *-uk'*, *'ak'* (see note 1):

|                                      |                              |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i> MY HEAD | Plur. 1. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i> |
| <i>-qa-s</i>                         | <i>-q-i-m'</i>               |
| 2. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i>               | 2. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i>       |
| <i>'u'-qa-k'</i>                     | <i>'u'-q'-so'</i>            |
| 3. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i>               | 3. <i>t'oh'at'sat'</i>       |
| <i>(-i')</i>                         | <i>(-i'-at')</i>             |

*t'oh'at'sat'*'*i'* is local object of *ht* (syntax as in notes 9, 19), while *su't'a'* is direct object of *'at'* in *ht'at'* TO HAVE... BEING AT...

27. See note 21.

28. Demonstrative pronoun (THIS), adverb (THUS), or verb (TO BE THUS), used as general demonstrative (*'ah'ko'* is more specifically THIS, *ya'* THAT); syntactically a complementary infinitive defining the preceding verb, which gives the nature of the relation, such as time, place, or manner, as here. *'ah'a'* is compounded of demonstrative stem *'ah'* THIS, THAT, which may occur alone, and *'a'*, probably petrified demonstrative or local element.

29. See note 10.

30. Durative form of verb. No etymological analysis suggests itself.

31. Assimilated from *huc-tsaq'i'so'*; cf. notes 12, 14. *huc-*, verb-stem TO BE ALL, TO BE BOTH; other derivatives are *huc-m't* TO BE ASSEMBLED, *huc-sa'tso'* TO BE EVERYWHERE. *-tsaq'i'so'*, local suffix AT THE END (see also note 38). Many verbs with local or body-part suffixes are to be interpreted as "bahuvrihi" compounds, i. e. the radical element expresses a concept which is possessed by the subject; e. g. *no'k'u-i'so'* TO BE SOUND-INSIDED, TO HAVE MUSIC INSIDE, PHONOGRAPH, *'ayaqs* TO HAVE MUCH (GAME) IN THE CANOE. The object of the verb is HEAD.



32. *su-*, verb-stem TO HOLD, GET HOLD OF ; its aspects are durative *so'* TO HOLD (other monosyllabic duratives with lengthened stem-vowel are *tei'* TO PULL, DRAG, *i'lo'* TO REMEMBER, *qwa'* TO BE IN QUALITY), momentaneous *su-kwtt* TO GET HOLD OF, graduative *so'-kwtt* TO BEGIN TO GET HOLD OF, TO BE GETTING HOLD OF, durative-iterative *so'tlso'ya'* TO HOLD TIME AND AGAIN, *sutlso'k'* TO GET HOLD OF TIME AND AGAIN. *-kwtt*, momentaneous suffix (cf. note 18), etymologically identical with postvocalic *-tcit* (cf. *-tei'* AT : *'o-kwi'* TO BE AT SUCH AND SUCH A PLACE); Nootka *tc: kw* (after *u*) goes back to Wakashan *k:kw* (cf. Kwakiutl change of *og- to ogw-*).

33. *tcakop'* MALE, HUSBAND, irregular absolute which corresponds as stem *tcapxw-* (e.g. *tcapx-na'k'-cutt* TO MARRY A MAN). *-okw-* (final form *-ok'*, *-ok'u*; *k-*sounds are labialized after *o*), alienable possessive suffix after consonants (cf. notes 10, 15); *-i*, see notes 9, 15. Object of *sukwtt*. Note that *-okw'-i* refers to possession by the subject; if HER HUSBAND had referred to another woman than the subject, *sukwtttcap' tcakop'* TOOK-HOLD-OF-ANOTHER'S THE-HUSBAND would have had to be used.

34. Umlauted from *\*to'ts-mā'-i'*, cf. note 22. See notes 12, 9. Subject of *sukwtt*.

35. *tei'*, verb-stem TO PULL ; durative *tei'*, momentaneous *tei'-tcit*. *-tcit*, post-vocalic form of *-cutt*, momentaneous suffix, see note 18.

36. *tlup'k-* or *tlum'k-*, verb-stem TO BE AWAKE; see note 37. *-sap'* (alternates for rhythmical reasons with *-sap'*), causative of momentaneous *-cutt*, while causative *-yap'* corresponds to *-tcit* (other examples of *-sap'*, *-sap'* are *qah'-sap'* TO KILL : *qah'-cutt* TO DIE ; *'utq'-sap'* TO CAUSE TO BE A FOG ; *kəh'-sap'* TO MAKE A HOLE ; *hamat'-sap'* TO CAUSE TO BE KNOWN, TO FIND OUT); alternates with *-sam-*, *-sam-* (e.g. *tlup'k'-sam-ah* I CAUSE TO WAKE UP). Every intransitive aspect has its corresponding causative in

*-p'*, *-m-*; momentaneous *-tt* always drops in causative forms (e. g. *-putt* IN THE HOUSE, mom. : caus. *-piap'*; *-asit* ON, mom. : caus. *-asip'*). *-atit*, see note 1. HIM is understood as object; third personal subjective and objective pronominal ideas are not specifically expressed in Nootka.

37. Momentaneous intransitive, see notes 36, 18. Aspects recorded of *tlup'k-*: dur. *tlup'k-a'* or *tlum'k-a'* TO BE AWAKE, mom. *tlup'k'-cutt* TO WAKE UP, graduative *tlp'k'-cutt* or *tlum'k'-cutt* TO BE WAKING UP, durative-iterative *tlp'k'-ci-ī* TO BE WAKING UP TIME AND AGAIN, momentaneous-iterative *tlup'k' tlup'k-c* or *tlum'k' tlum'k-c* TO KEEP WAKING UP BY FITS AND STARTS.

38. *i'oi'əh'*, reduplicated from *i'əh'* HEAD, see note 20; reduplication expresses distribution, HEAD HERE AND THERE. *-tsaq i'so'*, see note 31. This word is a "bahūvrihi": HAVING A HEAD AT EACH END, cf. note 31.

39. *tsukmni'*, noun IRON; borrowed from Chinook Jargon. *-ak'-i'*, see note 15.

40. *i'ci-*, verb-stem TO CUT (e.g. *i'ci-mah'* TO CUT A BODY, *i'ci-h'a'ia'k'* TO BE CUT APART, *i'ci-ma'* MUSSEL-SHELL KNIFE); dur. *i'ci'ya'* TO BE CUTTING, mom. *i'ci'-tcit*, cf. note 35.

41. General demonstrative, object of *i'ci'atit*; see note 28.

42. = *hēs-sap'*. *hēs-*, verb-stem TO BLEED and noun-stem BLOOD (e.g. *hēs-mis* BLOOD, *hēh'e's-sut* [red.] TO BE BLOODY-EYED, *h'e'y-i's* TO DRINK ONE'S BLOOD). *-sap'*, see note 36; *hēs-cutt* TO BLEED, mom.

43. Demonstrative pronoun, object of *hēs'a'p'*. Compounded of *'ah'* (see notes 41, 28) and *-ho'*, not otherwise found.

44. Contracted from *'a'ap'-tsu'atcv'-at'-i'*, cf. note 26. *'a'ap'*, reduplicated from *'ap'*, *'am-*, noun-stem of general locality PART, BODY-PART (e.g. *'ap'-qe'* SUMMIT, *'ap-puq'it-i* ON A MAT NEAR THE FIRE TOWARDS THE DOOR, *'am-ashaut* CHEST, *'apm'-woni'* WAIST, *'a'm-ak'ti'* BUTT END); suffixes indicating body-parts occurring in pairs

generally reduplicate preceding stem even if only one of two is actually referred to (e. g. 'a'ap-'p'qa' KNEE, 'a'ap-'su'woni' ARM-PIT, 'a'am-as CHEEK, 'a'a'm-a'mut' SHIN; from other stems, e. g. *yaya'k'-'nuk'* TO BE SORE-HANDED, *yaya'k'w-um'i'* TO BE SORE-EARED, *totop'k'-'atsol'* TO BE BLACK ON THE SOLES, 'nuts'no'q'u-'sul' TO HAVE A BOIL ON THE EYE). -*ts'atci'*, body-part suffix THIGH; compounded of -*tsit-* SIDE, apparently not found uncompounded (other examples are 'nq'u-'ts'um'i' TO HAVE A BOIL ON THE SIDE [OF THE HEAD], *hopal-'ts'ak'ih'* TO BE MOON-SIDE-REARED, TO HAVE A CRESCENT PAINTED ON THE UPPER THIGH AND RUMP), and -'a'tci', -'atci' PRIVATE PARTS, VULVA (e. g. *l'hl'a'tci'* TO SHOOT AT THE PRIVATE PARTS; compounded, e. g., in 'nq'u-'l'sa'tci' TO HAVE A BOIL BELOW THE NAVEL, *yaya'k'-'st'o'w-atci'* TO BE SORE, ON THE INNER PART OF THE THIGH), hence properly on the SIDE OF THE PRIVATE PARTS. -'at'-'i' see note 26.

45. *tuxw-*, verb-stem TO JUMP (cf., further, *tuxw-i'tc'it'* TO JUMP ON ONE OUTSIDE THE HOUSE, *tuxw-it'* FALLS, *tu'w-ik'* TO BE FOND OF JUMPING); mom. *tuxw-c'it'*, iterative *to'x'w'w-a'* TO JUMP UP AND DOWN. -*tspa'*, -*tspa'*, local suffix OVER, PAST, durative aspect (other examples are *l'sax-'tspa'* A SPEAR GOES OVER, *huta-'tspa'* TO GO OVER, TO PASS, *kamut'q'-'tspa'* TO RUN PAST); corresponding momentaneous aspect, -*tspun'it'*.

46. See note 40. -*tla*, word-suffix (or enclitic particle) ALSO, TOO, AGAIN.

47. *kws-*, stem THE OTHER, DIFFERENT (e. g. *kws-i'y-as* TO BE AT THE FAR END OF THE VILLAGE, *kws-aq'l'so'* [A HOUSE] STANDS OPPOSITE, *kws-t-i'ya'* TO BE AT ANOTHER TIME, *kws-to'p'* TO BE OF A DIFFERENT CLASS, ABNORMAL). -*a's*, -*as*, -*s* (after vowels), local suffix of durative aspect ON, AT (e. g. *h'n-a's* TO BE ON, *l'qw-a's* TO BE SITTING ON [A BOX], *k'wa't-as* BRANCHES ARE ON [THE LOGS]), mom. -*a'sut'*, -(*a*)*sut'*; *kws-a's* TO BE DIFFERENT, THE OTHER ON, *kwsa's'at'i' t'ic'it'ni'* THE LEG OF HIM WHICH IS OTHERWISE, ELSEWHERE ON, ATTACHED TO [HIM], i. e. HIS OTHER LEG.

-'at'-'i'. see notes 26, 44; -'i' relates *kwsa's'at'* to *t'ic'it'ni'*.

48. Absolutive form of noun, probably an irregular reduplication. Object of *l'c'at'it'*.

49. Momentaneous intransitive. See note 42.

50. *kws-*, see note 47; lengthened form of stem because of iterative aspect. -*pano'ti'*, iterative form of -*pa'* SIDE END (*kws-pa'-* TC BE ON THE OTHER SIDE, AT THE OTHER END, often with -*s-* ON: *kws-pa'-s-*); to durative -*pa'* corresponds momentaneous -*pan'it'* from \**-panut'*, whence iterative -*pano'ti'* by change of -*it* to -*t* and lengthening of *u* to *o'* (momentaneous forms in -*un'it'* correspond to iteratives in -*ano't* or -*un't*; another example is dur. -*msa'* MOVING UP, mom. -*msun'it'*, iter. -*msano't*). -*cu'atl*, from -*c'it'* + -'at', see notes 18, 1; for loss of -*it* in inceptive suffixes, see note 5. *kws'pano'tc'it'* is iterative-inceptive in aspect: TO BEGIN TO (MOVE) FROM SIDE TO SIDE; other examples of this aspect are *tsu'ts'w'isc'it'* TO START SCRATCHING, *sutso'k'c'it'* TO BEGIN TO TAKE TIME AND AGAIN (see note 32).

51. *hes-*, see notes 42, 49. -*um'yaww-*, longer form of -*um'yot'*, -*um'yut'*, momentaneous form of dur. -*um'it'* (after vowels, -*q-um'it'*), used partly as classifying suffix (ROUND OBJECT; MOON), partly as local-suffix ALL OVER, COVERING A ROUNDED OR BULKY SURFACE (e. g. *l'hw-um'it'* TO BE WHITE ON THE OUTSIDE; *ya'k-um'it'* TO BE SORE-HEADED, *'en'm-qum'it'* TO HAVE SNAILS ALL OVER IT; *hw-um'it'* TO BE ASSEMBLED, mom. *hw-um'yot'* TO ASSEMBLE, COME TOGETHER). When momentaneous -*it* drops, as before -'at' (see note 5), modifications often appear in the preceding derivative suffix (e. g. -*msun'it'* UP, mom., but -*msano'at'*; -'o'tt ON THE FACE, mom., but -*aw-'at'*, causative -*awup'*; -'so'tt SO AND SO DIES, but -*sa'w'at'*, -*saw-'at'*, causative -*sawup'*; such cases of -'o'-(*o*): -*aww-*, -*aww-* suggest that Nootka *o'* is sometimes contracted from older *aw*, *au* (cf. *qo't* SLAVE: *qaqo't* SLAVES, reduplicated, from \**qaqant*). -'at' see note 1.

52. See notes 38, 9. *-i'so-* with long vowel, *-i'so'* with short; properly long vowels are frequently heard shortened in final position.

53. *qah<sup>h</sup>-*, verb-stem TO BE DEAD, TO DIE; dur. *qah-ak'* TO BE DEAD, mom. *qah<sup>h</sup>-cutt* TO DIE. *-ci-<sup>2</sup>ett*, see note 50; *ε* phonetic variant of *a*, *α*, because of preceding *i*.

54. *'nu'yi'* (*.o'yi'*; *o'* and *i'* are of ten broken to *au*, *au*, and *ei*, *ai* after *h* and *.*), noun MEDICINE; probably derivative in *-yi'* (cf. *mits-*SPEAR, absolutive *mits-'yi'*; further, derivatives in *-s'yi'*, e. g. *'mukw-* STONES LIE: *'muk-s'yi'* STONE, *'ni'k'* FIRE, TO BURN: *'ni'k-s'yi'* WOOD, STICK). *-ci-t'* (after *a* and *i*), *-kwi-t'* (after *o*-vowels), *-i-t'* (after consonants), derivative suffix attached to noun stems, TO MAKE (other examples are *'o-kwi-t'*, TO MAKE SO AND SO, *h<sup>h</sup>al-i-t'* TO MAKE A CEDAR-BARK MAT). *-ci-<sup>2</sup>ett*, see note 53; *-cutt* is here inceptive.

55. *quis*, durative verb TO DO THUS, TO ACT AS DESCRIBED; perhaps related to *qwa'* (see note 21) and to *qwi-*, stem used in relative verb forms to make indirect questions (e. g. *qwi'y<sup>h</sup>taqak-i-tc* WHAT, AS THEY SAY, IT IS MADE OF, *qwe-sa-h<sup>h</sup>i-wos-i'* WHY HE WOULD BE..., *qwe-yi-n<sup>1</sup>-yi-s'* AT WHAT TIME I COME); *-s-*, possibly identical with local *-s* ON, see note 47. *-h<sup>h</sup>* (after all consonants but *h*), *-qh<sup>h</sup>* (after vowels and *h*), word-suffix attached to absolutive verb form (comes before all other word-suffixes) and indicating that the activity or state predicated by its verb is accompanied by or in some way conditions the activity or state predicated by the following verb or an understood verb (e. g. *hut-i-t-h-ah ho'ya-t'* I-AM-IN-THE-HOUSE-WHILE DANCING, *wa-qh<sup>h</sup>-at<sup>1</sup>-ni'* NOW WE SAY IT WHILE [THUS OCCUPIED]); here it implies that the following verb (TO OBTAIN MANY IN HUNTING) results from the activity (TO DO THUS, i. e. TO MAKE MEDICINE) of its own verb. *-<sup>2</sup>att*, see note 1.

56. *'a'ymik'*, from *\*'a'ya-mk'*, see note 9. *'a'ya-*, lengthened from *'aya-*, verb-stem TO BE

MUCH, MANY (durative absolutive *'aya'*) (e. g. *'aya-qs* TO HAVE MUCH [GAME] IN ONE'S CANOE, *'a'y-<sup>h</sup>* TO SECURE MUCH, *'ayu:-p<sup>2</sup>u'* TO BE MANY TIMES). *-mk'*, *-mi'k'*, derivative verb suffix lengthening preceding stem-vowel, TO SUCCEED IN HUNTING... (e. g. *'o-mi'k'* TO GET SO AND SO IN HUNTING, TO BE A SUCCESSFUL HUNTER). *-ci-<sup>2</sup>atl*, see note 50.

57. *'napxta'*, durative intransitive TO DIE IMMEDIATELY (AFTER BEING STRUCK). *-<sup>2</sup>atl*, see note 1. *-qo-*, conditional suffix, see note 58, frequently used in main clause as past usitative (e. g. *mala-<sup>2</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-qo-k'* WHENEVER, IF YOU FLY ABOUT OF YOU WOULD, USED TO FLY ABOUT); *-we'ni'* shows that *-qo-* cannot be here understood as subordinating, as *-tc-* is quotative in subordinate clauses (e. g. *'napxta-<sup>2</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-qo-tc* IF, AS IS SAID, HE DIES IMMEDIATELY). *-we'ni'*, quotative word-suffix IT IS SAID in main clauses; replaces third personal indicative *-ma'*, e. g. *qahak'-we'ni'* HE IS DEAD, THEY SAY: *qahak'-ma'* HE IS DEAD (1st pers. sing. *-we'i-s'*, 2nd pers. sing. *-we'ni-t<sup>2</sup>suk'*); < *\*-wa-<sup>2</sup>ni'*, probably petrified nominal derivative form *wa-* (*wa-*) TO SAY.

58. *i'saxw-*, *i'sax-* (labializations regularly disappear in syllabically final position), verb-stem TO SPEAR (e. g. *i'saxw-i-'nak'* TO IMITATE A SPEARER IN A DANCE, *i'sax-t<sup>2</sup>pa'* SPEAR GOES OVER, *i'sax-'yak'* SPEARING-INSTRUMENT, SPEAR); mom. *i'sax-cutt*, iter. *i'sa-xi'sa-xw-a'*. *-ci-<sup>2</sup>ett*, see note 50, 53. *-qo'*, conditional suffix; its paradigm is:

|                        |                                |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>-qo'-s</i> | Plur. 1. <i>-qu-n'</i>         |
| 2. <i>-qo'-k'</i>      | 2. <i>-qo'-so'</i>             |
| 3. <i>-qo'</i>         | 3. <i>qo'(-<sup>2</sup>at)</i> |

With quotative *-tc* (cf. note 57) it forms:

|                           |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>-qo'-ts-s</i> | Plur. 1. <i>-qo'-i'ci-n'</i>       |
| 2. <i>-qo'-tc-k'</i>      | 2. <i>-qo'-ts-so'</i>              |
| 3. <i>-qo'-tc</i>         | 3. <i>-qo'-tc(-<sup>2</sup>at)</i> |

59. *'ah<sup>o</sup>a*, see note 28. *'at<sup>t</sup>*, see note 1. *-wε<sup>i</sup>w<sup>i</sup>*, quotative, see note 57.

60. *it<sup>a</sup>o'* ANOTHER, as durative verb and verb-stem *it<sup>a</sup>o'*-TO BE ANOTHER (e. g. *it<sup>a</sup>o'-i'sq'* ANOTHER LONG OBJECT, CANOE, *it<sup>a</sup>o'-yiy-a'* TO BE ANOTHER TIME, NEXT TIME, *it<sup>a</sup>o'-tcit<sup>t</sup>* TO BECOME ANOTHER). *-at<sup>t</sup>*, see note 1. *-it<sup>a</sup>*, see note 46.

61. *i'so<sup>i</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>a* TO BE WINTER; MOM. *i'so<sup>i</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>acit<sup>t</sup>*. *i'so<sup>i</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>a* is explained by the Nootka as WASHED-SEASON, i. e. season when everything is washed clean by rain and snow, cf. *i'so*, verb-stem TO WASH. *-ut<sup>h</sup>a*, *-i'it<sup>h</sup>a*, stem suffix SEASON (e. g. *'m<sup>i</sup>l'i-i'it<sup>h</sup>a* RAINY SEASON, *'a'y-i'it<sup>h</sup>a* ROTTING SEASON, FALL; cf. also *-q'-ut<sup>h</sup>a* YEAR, e. g. *mo-q'ut<sup>h</sup>a* FOUR YEARS). *-cit<sup>t</sup>*, momentaneous suffix, see note 18.

62. *wε<sup>i</sup>ut<sup>c</sup>*, see note 5. *-ah<sup>o</sup>s*, dur. local suffix IN A RECEPTACLE, IN THE VULVA, IN A CANOE, MOM. *-ah<sup>o</sup>sut<sup>t</sup>*, CAUS. *-ah<sup>o</sup>sip'* (cf. further *'mat-ah<sup>o</sup>s* COLD IN A RECEPTACLE, i. e. COLD WATER, *hayu-ah<sup>o</sup>s* TO HAVE 200 (SALMON) BROUGHT HOME IN A CANOE); *-ah<sup>o</sup>s* is one of those suffixes that "harden" preceding final consonants of stems, i. e. preceding *p*, *t*, *k*, *kw*, *q*, *qw*, *ts*, *tc*, *it* become glottalized to *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *kw'*, *q'*, *ts'*, *it'* respectively (cf. note 1), *s*, *c*, *t* to *'y* (*-t'*-above is irregular), *x*, *xw* to *'w*, *n* to *'n*, *m* to *'m*, *h* to *h'* (sometimes *'w*); see *-ut<sup>h</sup>a*, note 61, for another "hardening" suffix. *-at<sup>t</sup>*, see note 1.

63. *'anah-*, probably identical with *'anah* TO BE (SO AND SO) IN SIZE; *-us*, diminutive suffix. *'anah-* is doubtless based on *'ana-* (dur. absolute *'ana'*) ONLY, see note 164; cf. further *'ana-* (with interrogative *-ha'*) HOW MANY? *'ana-* TO LAST, TO BE IN EXTENT, *'ani-ts-* AS LONG AS, *'ana-...-us* TO BE NEAR. Diminutive *-us* is freely used as word-suffix, less frequently stem-suffix, in both noun and verb forms, e. g. *ta'ns-us* CHILD, *ha'kwa-tt-us* LITTLE GIRL, *i'a'na-q'it'-nukw-us* TO BE CHILD-IN-HANDED-LITTLE, TO HOLD A CHILD IN THE HAND. In *'anah-us*

LITTLE, *-us* may be separated from *'anah-*, e. g. *'a'nab-(a)ik'-us* TO BE LITTLE-HEADED. Here used as adjective qualifying CANOE.

64. Absolutive noun *i'capats* CANOE (irregular plur. *tca'ya'pats*), local object of *hit. i'cap-* (sometimes *i'cam-*), noun-stem CANOE (e. g. *i'ca'p-ok'<sup>u</sup>* CANOEMAN, see note 107, *i'cam-e'at<sup>t</sup>* TO RETURN IN A CANOE AFTER GOING IN SOME OTHER WAY); in most derivatives *i'capats* is treated as stem (e. g. *i'capats-nak'* TO HAVE A CANOE, *i'capats-o'wa'* CANOE-PLACE ON THE ROCKS). *-ats*, derivative noun-forming suffix RECEPTACLE (e. g. *'a'qu-ats* URINE-RECEPTACLE, BLADDER); cf. also *-sats* RECEPTACLE (e. g. *k'o-t-sats* VESSEL FOR EATING A RELISH OUT OF).

65. *'o-*, see note 1; refers to following noun. *-yo'at* (after vowels), *-o'at* (after consonants), derivative suffix TO GET SIGHT OF, PERCEIVE (e. g. *wawa'-yu'at* TO HEAR WHAT ONE SAYS, *qo'ats-u'at* TO SEE A PERSON). *-at<sup>t</sup>*, see note 1.

66. *kwstsatcit<sup>t</sup>*, momentaneous verb form TO GO OFF ELSEWHITHER, nominalized by *-i'ca'*. *kwts-*, see notes 47, 50. *-tsa-tcit<sup>t</sup>*, MOM. SUFFIX TO GO OFF TO, cf. note 35 (e. g. *'u-tsa-tcit<sup>t</sup>* TO GO TO SO AND SO, *ho'a-tsa-tcit<sup>t</sup>* TO TURN BACK); corresponding CAUS. IS *-tsa-ap'*, e. g. *'u-tsa-ap'* TO TAKE SO AND SO UP TO); as corresponding DUR. INTR. IS USED *-tsu'uk'*, *-tsc'uk'* (e. g. *wa's-tsu'uk'-ha-k'* WHERE ARE YOU GOING?). *-i'ca'*, suffixed article or nominalizing particle with quotative color, THE..., AS THEY SAY (for related forms in *-tc-* see note 58); syntactically equivalent to non-quotative *-i'* (see note 9).

67. *'oh<sup>a</sup>*, durative verb TO BE THE ONE, THE ONE WHO... IS SO AND SO, indicates that the noun following or understood is the one referred to in a preceding verb; here: THE ONE WHO (PERCEIVED THE SHIFT) WAS (CHA'ATSSIB'). This verb probably consists of *'o-*, see note 1, and petrified suffix *-h<sup>a</sup>*, possibly TO BE (cf. perhaps *-h<sup>a</sup>* in *'ah<sup>o</sup>*, note 28, and *'ana-h<sup>a</sup>*, note 63).

68. Nitinat name; *b* and final glottal stop show at one that it cannot be Nootka proper.

69. <sup>1</sup>*u-*, variant of <sup>0</sup>*o-*, see note 1. *-kta*(<sup>0</sup>) (after *u-* vowels), *-tcta*(<sup>0</sup>) (after other vowels), *-la*(<sup>0</sup>) (after consonants), dur. verbifying suffix TO BE NAMED... (e. g. <sup>1</sup>*aqi-tcta-ha* 'HOW IS HE NAMED? <sup>0</sup>*ko'og-lz-i* 'THE OBSCENELY NAMED ONE').

70. <sup>2</sup>*em'tu-*, noun-stem NAME, absolutive <sup>2</sup>*em'tu-*; cf. verb-stem <sup>2</sup>*em'tu-* TO SING THE SIGNIFICANT SYLLABLES OF A SONG. *-na'k'*, *-nak'*, verbifying suffix TO HAVE... (e. g. <sup>1</sup>*u-na'k'* TO HAVE SO AND SO, <sup>1</sup>*a'na-nak'* TO HAVE A CHILD, <sup>1</sup>*mo'tci't-nak'* TO HAVE FOR FOUR DAYS). <sup>2</sup>*em'tu-na'k'*, complementary infinitive depending on *rukta*; literally, (CHA'TSSIB) IS WHAT HE WAS CALLED TO HAVE A NAME (OF IN HAVING A NAME). The idea conveyed by a derivative suffix is frequently supplemented by a following primary element conveying the same notion, e. g. <sup>0</sup>*o'is ha'ok'u* TO CONSUME-SO-AND-SO TO-EAT, <sup>1</sup>*utshen'it' lutcna'k'c'it* TO-MARRY-SO-AND-SO TO-BEGIN-TO HAVE-AS-WIFE.

71. <sup>0</sup>*o'o-*, reduplicated form of <sup>0</sup>*o-*, see note 1. *-lah'*, derivative suffix reduplicating stem and lengthening stem-vowel TO HUNT (SUCH AND SUCH) SEA-MAMMALS, TO BE A WHALER.

72. <sup>1</sup>*h'w'wni*, LAUGHING-STOCK, TO BE A CAUSE OF LAUGHTER, derivative of verb-stem <sup>1</sup>*li'xw-* TO LAUGH (e. g. mom. <sup>1</sup>*li'x-c'it* TO LAUGH ONCE, dur. <sup>1</sup>*li'xw-a'* TO BE LAUGHING, <sup>1</sup>*li'x-p'i-tch'* TO LAUGH WHILE ENGAGED IN SOMETHING ELSE); <sup>2</sup>*w-* is "hardened" from *-xw-*. <sup>2</sup>*ini*, "hardening" derivative suffix, apparently makes passive or resultative nouns out of verb-stems (e. g. <sup>1</sup>*coc-* TO SUSPECT: <sup>1</sup>*coc-<sup>2</sup>uni* ONE WHO SUSPECTED, *haca-* TO HEAR ABOUT: *hac:<sup>2</sup>y-uni* FAMOUS). <sup>2</sup>*ap'*, <sup>2</sup>*am-*, causative suffix (cf. note 36); <sup>1</sup>*h'w'wni<sup>2</sup>ap'* TO CAUSE TO TO BE LAUGHABLE, TO TREAT AS A LAUGHING-STOCK, I. E. TO LAUGH AT. <sup>2</sup>*at'*, passive suffix, see note 1; identical with inalienable possessive <sup>2</sup>*at'*, see note 24.

73. Relative particle introducing statement

of cause or other attendant circumstance in following subordinate verb. Probably petrified relative in *-t*, as shown by its pronominal forms, which are those of relative forms in *-t*, *-t'*, *-y-*, *-y'-*:

|                                   |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <sup>1</sup> <i>am-s</i> | Plur. 1. <sup>1</sup> <i>am-n'</i> |
| 2. <sup>1</sup> <i>am-k'</i>      | 2. <sup>1</sup> <i>am-so'</i>      |
| 3. <sup>1</sup> <i>am'</i>        | 3. <sup>1</sup> <i>am'</i>         |

Cf. relative paradigm in note 185.

74. *qa'ya-* TO DRIFT (IN A CANOE); may contain *-a-* OUT AT SEA IN A CANOE (e. g. *hin-a'-tc'it* mom. TO GO OUT TO SEA IN A CANOE, *wk-a'-nak'* TO HAVE NONE IN A CANOE). *-panatc*, derivative suffix generally lengthening stem vowel, TO WANDER ABOUT AIMLESSLY (e. g. <sup>0</sup>*o'tc'<sup>2</sup>-panatc* TO GET LOST IN A FOG, *ya'ts-panatc* TO BE OUT FOR A WALK, *huta'-q'<sup>1</sup>t'-as-panatc* TO SPEND ONE'S TIME IN THE BUSH). *-qa*, subordinating suffix indicating cause or other attendant circumstance, often, but not always, introduced by <sup>1</sup>*am*; it is etymologically identical with *-qa-* of possessive paradigm (see notes 1, 26). Its pronominal forms are:

|                                 |                                  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>-qa-s</i>           | Plur. 1. <i>-qi-n'</i>           |
| 2. <sup>2</sup> <i>u'-qa-k'</i> | 2. <sup>2</sup> <i>u'-q'-so'</i> |
| 3. <i>-qa'</i>                  | 3. <i>-qa(-<sup>2</sup>at')</i>  |

<sup>1</sup>*am qa'ya-panatcqa* indicates cause of <sup>1</sup>*h'w'wni<sup>2</sup>ap'at'*; more explicit causal statements are rendered by <sup>0</sup>*o-no'tt' am...* *-qa'* TO-BE-FOR-SUCH-AND-SUCH-A-REASON, THAT...

75. See notes 5, 74. Here *-qa'* denotes attendant circumstance, WHILE ASLEEP; *w:<sup>2</sup>tcqa'* follows closely on *qa'ya-panatc* and needs no formal <sup>1</sup>*am* to introduce it.

76. *wk'<sup>2</sup>at* NOT TO BE AWARE OF, dur., consists of *wik'* (see note 10) and derivative suffix *-<sup>2</sup>at'* (certain suffixed elements beginning with glottal stop do not glottally affect preceding consonants) TO BE AWARE OF, HAVE NEWS OF (e. g. <sup>0</sup>*o'-at* TO HAVE NEWS OF SO AND SO), inceptive *-<sup>2</sup>i'-tc'it* TO BECOME AWARE OF (contracted from

older \*<sup>2</sup>ai-, « softened » form of <sup>2</sup>at). <sup>2</sup>at, see note 1. -qa, see note 74. *wk'a'atitqa* follows <sup>2</sup>am (note 73) and is parallel to *qa'ya'panatqa*; AND is not necessary (cf. note 3).

77. See notes 66, 74. Here -qa marks a subordinate clause that is objectively related to *wk'a'atit*.

78. Absolute and stem-form: DAYLIGHT, DAY, also PERIOD, SEASON, WEATHER; as dur. verb, TO BE DAY, mom. <sup>2</sup>na's-citl DAY COMES. Possibly <sup>2</sup>na's is composed of simple <sup>2</sup>na- (cf. Kwakiutl <sup>2</sup>na-la DAY) and petrified -s (ON ?), cf. *qwis*, note 55; this seems to be confirmed by Nootka <sup>2</sup>na'-p'inaq- THE PROPER TIME COMES. <sup>2</sup>na's is subject of *kwstsalcitlqa*: THAT DAY WAS GOING OFF ELSEWHITHER, THAT IT WAS THE SEASON OF GOING OFF ELSEWHITHER..

79. Umlauted from *baca'-tcutl*. *baca'*-, dur. stem TO HEAR ABOUT; dur. -a' (but not short -a) is umlauted to -i- before momentaneous -tcutl (cf. <sup>2</sup>nutli'-tcutl TO BEGIN TO RAIN FROM <sup>2</sup>mitla' TO BE RAINING; but <sup>2</sup>i'wa-tcutl TO GET BIG). -tcutl, see note 35. *baci'-tcutl* is momentaneous; most forms in -i'-tcutl are definitely inceptive.

80. See notes 72, 74. Here, as frequently, *am*... -qa' mark an objective clause of indirect discourse.

81. *ya'kw-*, *ya'k'-* TO BE SORE, used either with body-part suffixes (e. g. *ya'k-o't* TO BE SORE-FACED, *ya'k-w-uit* TO BE SORE-NECKED, *yaya'k'-nuk'u* TO BE SORE-HANDED) or with inalienable possessive -at' (see note 24) and following body-part noun (e. g. *ya'k'-at-ah qasi'* MINE-IS-SORE EYE, I HAVE A SORE ON THE EYE; cf. *yaya'k-sul* TO BE SORE-EYED); dur. *ya'k-at'*, inceptive *ya'k-c'-at'*. -c'-st', see notes 18, 5, 24, 53; <sup>2</sup>at' is treated analogously to <sup>2</sup>atl (see note 1), and they combine into <sup>2</sup>a'tat'.

82. Absolute noun « HEART, » SEAT OF INTELLIGENCE AND FEELING; HEART in its anatomical sense is *ti'tc-ma'* (from *ti'tc* TO BE ALIVE). *ti'magst'* consists of radical *hm-*, of

unknown meaning, and "hardening" nominalizing suffix <sup>2</sup>agst' WHAT IS INSIDE (ONE'S BODY) (cf. dur. <sup>2</sup>agtl INSIDE, mom. <sup>2</sup>agstutl).

83. *citl-*, verb-stem TO MOVE FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER (e. g. *ci'tt-uk'u* TO BE MOVING, *ci'ya't't-aga'* SEVERAL MOVE IN A CANOE, *ci't't-uk'* TO BE ALWAYS ON THE MOVE). -st's, local suffix INTO THE INTERIOR, UP WHERE SALMON RUN (cf. *hit-st's* TO BE IN THE INTERIOR), after *a-* and *i-*vowels -stst's, after *u-*vowels -kst's (e. g. <sup>2</sup>o-kst's SO AND SO IS UP COUNTRY); -st's is correlative to -w's (e. g. *hit-w's* TO BE ALONG THE SHORE, <sup>2</sup>o-w's SO AND SO IS DOWN AT THE SEA).

84. = *h's-sasa*. *h's*, dur. verb TO BE AT THE BEACH, contracted from \**hy-is*, "softened" from *hit* (see note 24) + -is, dur. local suffix AT THE BEACH, ON A LEVEL AND OPEN STRETCH (e. g. <sup>2</sup>yaq-is LONG LEVEL STRETCH OF COUNTRY, *to'hp-maq-is* SPRUCE TREES ARE SCATTERED ON THE BEACH, <sup>2</sup>ya'yak-is HEADS SHOW OF PEOPLE SEATED ON THE BEACH), mom. -satt; *h's* like *hit* TO BE IN THE HOUSE, contracted from \**hy-it* (see note 13) ("softening," as contrasted with "hardening," is no longer a live process in Nootka, but survivals occur of *t*, *s*, and *c* softening to *y* or *w* [after *u*], of *h* and *xw* to *w*, and of *s* to *ts* < original *dʒ*; cf. *k'wa'y-is* TO HAVE BRANCHES ON THE SHORE, from *k'wa't* BRANCH). -sasa', word suffix lengthening stem vowel, emphasizes verbal idea, RIGHT ALONG, JUST SO, IN VERY TRUTH (e. g. <sup>2</sup>o'hp-sasa' TO BE THE VERY ONE WHO..., TO BE THE ONE WHO... RIGHT ALONG); reduplicated (uniquely so for a suffixed element) from -sa', emphatic word suffix lengthening stem vowel, VERY, TOO, JUST, MOST (e. g. <sup>2</sup>o'-ak'ti-sa' TO BE THE VERY LAST, <sup>2</sup>a'n-u'at-sa' TO SEE MERELY..., <sup>2</sup>a'ya-kwat-citl-sa' TO BECOME TOO MUCH-MISSING, TO SPEND TOO MUCH).

85. Place name, local object of *h'ssasa'*. Radical element *tho-*, of unknown meaning. <sup>2</sup>owis (after vowels), -owis (after consonants)

nominalizing suffix PLACE ON THE BEACH (cf. *stukwat'q-ows* PLACE ON THE BEACH FOR HOLDING A WOLF RITUAL, *'as-ows* PLACE ON THE BEACH WHERE CARPENTER WORK IS DONE); "softened" (cf. note 84) from *-ut* PLACE (cf. *ho'a-q-ut* PLACE WHERE CORMORANTS CONGREGATE, *w's'uc-ut* PLACE TO SLEEP) + *-s* ON THE BEACH (see note 84) (parallel forms in *-w-* and *-w-* from *-t* are *-uw-ut* PLACE IN THE HOUSE, *-u'w-a'* PLACE ON THE ROCKS, *-u'w-as* PLACE ON THE GROUND; *-a'now-s* ALONG ON THE BEACH < *-a'nut* ALONG + *-s*).

86. See notes 84, 1.

87. Contracted from *ni'ti'na'a* + *'ath'a*. *ni'ti'na'a'*, village name containing, in contracted form, "hardening" *'a'a'* ON THE ROCKS; exact form of stem and its meaning are undetermined. *'ath'a*, nominalizing suffix PEOPLE OF... (e. g. *i'suca-'ath'a* PEOPLE OF TS'ISHA, *po'st'ni-'ath'a* BOSTON PEOPLE, AMERICANS), commonly used as ending in tribal names (whence our *Aht* as general term for all Nootka tribes); also used as verb suffix, "hardening," TO DWELL, TO LIVE TOGETHER, TO BE PEOPLED BY (e. g. *hi'y-ath'a* TO DWELL [probably from *hic-ALL*, see note 31], *tuk'w-ath'a* SEA-LIONS STAY, TO BE INHABITED BY SEA-LIONS, *yaq'-tci-'ath'a-'i'q'* WITH WHOM HE LIVES, HIS NEIGHBORS).

88. *'n-*, *'o-*, see note 1. *-isa-tci-'ett*, from *-isa-tcitt* (see note 66) + *'att* (see notes 1, 5).

89. *i'sa-*, verb-stem TO FLOW (e. g. *i'sa-t's'wi'* A CURRENT GOES THROUGH, *i'sa-h'a'a'* A CREEK RUNS DOWN A ROCKY BED). *'ak'*, durative suffix and absolutive noun suffix (see note 2); *i'sa'ak'* TO BE FLOWING AS VERB, CREEK AS NOUN. *'okw-* (labialized because of *o* preceding *k*), *-ok'*; see note 33. *-i'*, see notes 9, 15, 33.

90. Contracted from *\*wi'napi-'att*. *wi'napi'*, durative TO STAY, REMAIN; *wi'n-*, with lengthened stem vowel because of following suffix, verb-stem not apparently found without following *-api'*; *-api'* (after consonants), *-pi'* (after

vowels), dur. local suffix, lengthens stem vowel, ERECT, STANDING, PLACED UP (e. g. *hi't-api'* TO BE IN THE SKY, RAISED UP, *'o'-pi'* SO AND SO STANDS OUT, IS AHEAD, *'no'p'-i'siq-apis* [= *-api* + *-s*] ONE-LONG-OBJECT-STANDING-ON-THE-BEACH, BEACH WITH A LONE TREE), mom. *-(a)putl.* *'att*, see notes 1, 14.

91. Inceptive form in *-cut* (see notes 18, 54) of *wik'i't'* TO BE NON-EXISTENT, THERE IS NOT. *wik-*, see note 10. *'i't'*, "hardening" stem-suffix used only with *wik-*, meaning probably THERE IS IN EXISTENCE; *'i't'* from *-i'n-*, cf. preterit *wik'-i'n-ta'* THERE WAS NONE.

92. Absolutive form; distributive *qoqwa's* PERSONS, but here *qo'as* PERSON is taken collectively, hence PEOPLE BECAME NON-EXISTENT, THERE CEASED TO BE ANYONE THERE. Stem form is *qo'ats-* (e. g. *qo'ats-ma'* SOUL, PERSONAL DOUBLE, *qo'at's-ut* TO GO FOR A PERSON, *qoqwa'ts-h'a'ta'* TO BE PERSON-FOOTED, TO HAVE A PERSON ON THE FOOT).

93. = *'o'sum'ic-c-'att*, inceptive aspect. See notes 1, 50.

94. *h'n-*, lengthened form of *h-n-*, "empty" stem TO BE, DO (as described by suffixed element), possibly demonstrative in origin (see note 1; cf. *hi'n-a'nul* TO BE UP RIVER, *h'n-usa'* TO COME UP OUT OF THE WATER, *h'n-ust'us* TO GO AWAY EXPECTING TO RETURN, *h'n-ni'* TO COME, *h'n-i'as* TO GO OUTSIDE, *h'n-a'sutt* TO GO UP ON; also in body-part nouns, e. g. *h'n-o't* FACE, *h'n-aksut* LIPS, *h'n-i't'aksut* CHIN; varies, for phonetic reasons, with *hit-*). *-s-*, *-i's*, verbal suffix TO TAKE ALONG, CARRY (e. g. *h'n-i's* TO TAKE ALONG, *h'n-i's-i'ut* TO TAKE INSIDE THE HOUSE, *hop'q-is-aqo'x'* TO ROUND A POINT OF LAND CARRYING A ROUND OBJECT, ROCK; *h'n-us-* is lengthened from *h'n-i's-*, *-i's-* shortening to *-s-* as rhythmic counterpart of stem lengthening; cf. also related *-i'tss* (after consonants), *-tss* (with lengthening of immediately preceding vowel) TO CARRY (e. g. *'uxw-i'tss* TO CARRY

A PADDLE, *hayu'-tss* TO CARRY TEN OBJECTS IN THE HAND, *'o'-tss-'aq'it'-dt* TO TAKE SO AND SO UP TO THE WOODS), mom. *-i'sutl* (e. g. *'utl-i'sutl* TO TAKE A DOG ALONG, *'utl-i'tss* TO HAVE A DOG ALONG). *-o'uk'*, dur. suffix, lengthening stem, TO BE ON ONE'S WAY (see note 66); *h'n-so'uk'* means literally TO TAKE ALONG WHILE ON ONE'S WAY and refers possibly to the canoe dragged along by the lunging whale, though the verb is used simply for the movements of a blowing and diving whale and for ceremonial imitations of these movements. *-cutl*, inceptive, see note 50.

95. *wa'tak'*, lengthened form of *wata'k'*, dur. verb TO GO TO, BE BOUND FOR A PLACE, probably contracted from *\*wata-'ak'* (cf. analogous forms like *'sawa'k'* TO BE ONE < *\*'sawa-'ak'* and note 14); *wata-* probably related to *wat-*, verb-stem TO RETURN HOME (mom. *wat-cut* TO BE GONE HOME, gradutive *wa't-cut* TO BE GOING HOME); *-ak'*, dur. intransitive, see notes 2, 10, 89.

96. Umlauted from *\*saya-'i'*; see notes 22, 34. *saya'*, dur. verb TO BE FAR AWAY, DISTANT (other aspects are inceptive *saye'i'* TO GET DISTANT, gradutive *sa'ye'i'* TO BE GETTING DISTANT, durative-iterative *sa'ye'i'a't*, momentaneous iterative *sasi'i'*); *saya-* is also used as verb stem (e. g. *saya-'l'ca'* TO BE HIGH UP, *sa'ya-tch'sa'a'* TO BE A LONG ROCKY SHORE). *-i'*, see note 9; THE FAR-DISTANT (PLACE) is local object of *wa'tak'*.

97. *mo'*, dur. verb TO BE FOUR, also verb-stem *mo-* (e. g. *mo-'pat* TO HAVE FOUR OBJECTS ON ONE'S BACK, *mo-'tcu'k'* FOUR ARE ON THE WAY, *mo-'sa'tso'* TO BE IN FOUR PLACES). *-ci't* *-ci't*, numeral classifier for DAY(S) (e. g. *'nup'-ci't* ONE DAY, *'atl-i'q'-ci't* TWO-TWENTY-DAYS, FORTY DAYS); *-ci't* does not become *-kwi't* after *u-* vowels (cf. note 32).

98. Durative form; see note 94.

99. Durative form of numeral; see note 97. *mo'na's* is specifically FOUR PERIODS OF DAYLIGHT, while *mo'ci't* means FOUR DAYS, SPANS

OF DAY AND NIGHT. Syntactically, *mo'na's* (and *mo'athai'*) is best considered an absolute + complementary infinitive: IT WAS FOUR IN BEING DAYLIGHT (and IT WAS FOUR IN BEING NIGHT).

100. Phonetic variant of *'athe'*, see note 16; both are properly *'ath'e'*.

101. *h'n-*, see note 94. *-asutl*, mom. local suffix (ARRIVING) AT; not to be confused with *-(a)sutl*, *-a'sutl*, mom. form of *-(a)s*, *-a's* ON (e. g. *'iqw-a'sutl* TO SIT DOWN ON, *h'n-a'sutl* TO GET UP ON [A PLATFORM]).

102. Place name, probably Nitinat, of unknown etymology. *-is* is doublets ON THE BEACH, cf. note 84.

103. Umlauted from *\*ukta-'i'*, cf. note 96. *'ukta-*, see note 59. *-i'*, see note 9. *'uktε'e* is in apposition to *kuxi'ks*.

104. Absolutive noun; there is no evident analysis. Syntactically, *nu's'ma'* amplifies *'u-* of preceding nominalized verb.

105. *'iqw-*, syllabically final form of *'iqw-*, see note 13. *-satt*, mom. form of *-is* ON THE BEACH (e. g. *hta-satt* TO LAND ON THE BEACH, *ta'-satt* TO DRIFT ON TO THE BEACH).

106. *ht-*, *hta-*, phonetic variant of *h'n-*, see note 98, found particularly, but by no means exclusively, before "hardening" suffixes (e. g. *hta-i'so'* TO BE IN THE BAY, *ht-i't* TO BE INSIDE, *ht-h'sta'* TO BE AT THE TIP, END *ht-aq'it'-nuk'* TO HOLD IN THE HANDS, *hta-q'sutl* TO GO INTO A CANOE, *hta-tss'h'sta'* TO APPEAR COMING OUT OF THE WOODS; also in body-part nouns, e. g. *ht-a'k'it'h'* RUMP). *-(a)h's*, local suffix DOWNSTREAM; probably compounded of *(a)h't-* and *-is* ON THE BEACH, ON A LEVEL SPOT. Evidently *-(a)h's* is correlative to *-h't-a'a'* DOWNSTREAM ON THE ROCKS (e. g. *'sa-h't-a'a'* A CREEK RUNS DOWN A ROCKY BED) and *-ah't-as* OUT OF THE WOODS (e. g. caus. *hta-h't-as-'ap'* TO CAUSE TO COME OUT OF THE WOODS); hence *-(a)h's* probably means, more accurately, MOVING INTO THE OPEN TO A BEACH-LIKE PLACE, leaving *-(a)h't-* to mean OUT INTO THE OPEN, SEAWARD. Not to be confus-



ed with  $-(a)h^s$  is  $-ats$  DOWNSTREAM (e. g.  $h^s-ats$  TO BE DOWN THE RIVER,  $t^s-ats$  TO SLIDE DOWNSTREAM,  $^smaq-ats$  GRASS MOVES DOWNSTREAM).

107.  $t^sca-p-$  lengthened from  $t^sca-p-$ , see note 64.  $-ok^u$ , intransitive suffix, lengthening stem-vowel, TO MOVE ALONG (e. g.  $ya^s-uk^u$  TO WALK <  $yats-$  TO STEP,  $sa^s-ok^u$  TO CRAWL ON ALL FOURS,  $^sna^s-uk^u$  TO LOOK FOR,  $ci^s-uk^u$  TO MOVE FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER).  $t^sca-pok^u$  thus literally means TO MOVE ALONG IN A CANOE; nominalized, CANOE-PARTY, CANOEMAN.

108. See note 89. Local object of  $h^sath^s$ .

109. Umlauted from  $*tlawa^s-tci^s-at^s$ , cf. note 79.  $tlawa^s$ , dur. verb TO BE NEAR (other aspects, some of which are parallel to those of  $saya^s$ , see note 96, are: mom.  $tlawn^s-it$  or  $tlaw^s-i^s$  TO GET NEAR, inceptive  $tlawa^s-tci^s$  TO BEGIN TO BE NEAR, TO APPROACH, gradative  $tlaw^s-wit$  or  $tlaw^s-wi^s$  TO BE GETTING NEAR, iterative  $tlaw^s-wano^s$  or  $tlaw^s-wni^s$ ).  $-tci^s$ , for  $-tci^s$ , inceptive suffix after vowels, see notes 35, 50, 54; for loss of  $-it$  before  $-at^s$ , see note 5.  $-^s-i^s$ , palatalized phonetic variant of  $-at^s$  (cf. note 53), passive suffix, see note 72.

110.  $h^s$ , see note 84.  $-^s-i^s$ , marks subordinate clause of locality, cf. note 22.

111.  $nawa^s-y-$ , probably "softened" from some stem no longer ascertainable ( $*nawa^s-t-$ ,  $*nawa^s-s-$ , or  $*nawa^s-c-$ ), TO SIT LOOKING AROUND, TO SIT AROUND WITHOUT PARTICULAR PURPOSE (cf.  $nawa^s-y-as$  TO SIT OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSE LOOKING AROUND, used particularly of old men sitting on the platform in front of the house in the morning and gossiping as they look around).  $^s$ , local suffix ON THE BEACH, cf. note 84.

112.  $hn-$ , see note 94.  $-utta^s$  (after consonants),  $-^s-wita^s$  (after vowels), local suffix OUT OF THE CANOE.

113.  $h^s$ , see note 24.  $-yini^s$ , local suffix AT THE BOW OF A CANOE, also  $-a^s-yini^s$ ,  $-ats-yini^s$  (e. g.  $h^sop-a^s-yini^s$  TO HAVE A ROUND OBJECT IN THE

BOW,  $tlakic-ats-yini^s$  TOSTANDIN THE BOW, see note 114).  $-^s-i^s$ , see notes 9, 103.

114.  $sum-$ , verb stem A POLE-LIKE OBJECT HAS POSITION (cf.  $sp^s-to^s-p^s$  STICK).  $-a^s-yini^s$ , local suffix IN THE BOW, see note 113.  $suma^s-yini^s$  is to be understood as a "bahuvrihi": TO BE POLE-BOWED, TO HAVE A POLE-LIKE OBJECT IN THE BOW.

115. Absolutive form of noun, object of preceding "bahuvrihi" verb.  $mits-$ , noun stem SPEAR (e. g.  $mits-na^s-k^s$  TO HAVE A SPEAR,  $mi^s-ts-^s-it$  TO GO FOR A SPEAR,  $mi^s-ts-i^s-it$  TO MAKE A SPEAR).  $-^s-y^s$ , absolutive noun suffix, see note 54.

116.  $t^s-q^s$ , see note 105.  $-stcusa^s-at^s$  from  $-stcusat + -at^s$ , cf. note 109.  $-stcusat$ , mom. form (cf. note 105) of dur.  $-stci^s$  NEXT TO ON THE BEACH, contracted from  $-stci-$  (which does not occur uncompounded) and  $-is$  ON THE BEACH (after  $u-$  vowel  $-k^s-tci^s$ , e. g.  $^s-u-k^s-tci^s$  SO AND SO IS NEXT TO ONE ON THE BEACH), cf.  $-tci^s-ath^s$ ,  $-k^s-tci^s-ath^s$  TO BE NEXT-PEOPLED, NEIGHBORING (e. g.  $^s-o-k^s-tci^s-ath^s-si^s-at$  TO BE NEIGHBORS TO ONE ANOTHER); this  $-stci^s$ ,  $-k^s-tci^s$  is not to be confused with stem-lengthening  $-stci^s$  FURTHER UP ON THE BEACH (e. g.  $^s-o^s-stci^s$  TO BE THE ONE THAT IS FURTHER UP ON THE BEACH; cf.  $^s-o^s-stca^s$  TO BE THE FURTHER ONE UP OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSE).  $-at^s$ , passive suffix, see note 72.

117.  $^s-h^s$ , see note 67.  $-at^s$ , passive suffix, see note 72.  $^s-h^s-at^s$  may be interpreted as IT WAS (THE CANOEMAN) BY WHOM (K^s WALISITS) WAS (NEIGHBOR)ED.  $^s-h^s-at^s$  + noun corresponds to our English agentive phrase (BY...) after passive verbs. It should be understood that every Nootka verb, transitive or intransitive, can be made passive in form.

118. Momentaneous form.  $qac-$ , verb stem TO NUDGE WITH THE ELBOW.  $-ci^s-^s-it^s$ , see notes 18, 109.

119.  $^s-ow-$ , stem GOOD WEATHER (e. g.  $^s-ow-ats$  FINE WEATHER COMES DOWN ON THE BEACH,  $^s-ow-i^s-nak^s$  TO IMITATE FAIR WEATHER IN A

DANCE). *-um<sup>i</sup>h* (perhaps properly *-um<sup>i</sup>h-*; labialized *k*-sound + *-um<sup>i</sup>*, *-um<sup>i</sup>*, often develops to *k*-sound + *-um<sup>i</sup>*, *-um<sup>i</sup>*), stem-lengthening verbal suffix of unknown meaning (I have found it only with *'ogw-*). *-ε-*, for *-v-* (*h<sup>a</sup>v* > *hε*), durative suffix after *h* (see note 16; *-v-*, sometimes shortened to *-e-*, is absolute durative, but before indicative *-m-* this element is always shortened). *-ma*, third person present indicative (see paradigm in note 1; *-m-* also occurs in other persons if preceded by a vowel, e. g. *ha'okw-ah* I EAT but *so'-m-ah* I AM HOLDING).

120. Interrogative adverb of modality, IS IT NOT? DO YOU THINK? *tak-*, possibly identical with stem of *taka'* NEVERTHELESS, STILL, YET. *-ha*, interrogative word-suffix, third personal subject (see note 1 for paradigm of interrogative forms).

121. See note 78 *-i'*, see note 9; THIS TODAY IS EQUIVALENT TO TODAY. *'ah<sup>a</sup> 'na:s'i'* is probably better taken as subject of *'o'qum<sup>i</sup>hem'a* (THIS DAY IS FINE-WEATHERED) than as independent adverb (IT IS FINE WEATHER TODAY).

122. *wa'*, verb TO SAY (also used as verb-stem *wa'-*); *wu'* does not seem to be used as durative (like certain other monosyllabic long-voweled duratives, see note 32), but as momentaneous: TO SAY (A SINGLE THING); its corresponding durative is *wawa'* TO BE SAYING (not necessarily several times, despite its iterative form), inceptive *waw-*tcit** TO BEGIN TO BE SAYING. *-at'*, passive suffix, see note 72; passives of *wa'-* refer to the person addressed, not the thing spoken of (e. g. *wa'-at-ah* I AM TOLD).

123. *'moqw-*, verb stem whose precise meaning is not yet clear; presumably TO BE DUMB OR, less specifically, TO BE BARRED, HEMMED, RIGID or something of that sort. *-i'yut<sup>i</sup>*, *-i'yut<sup>i</sup>*, mom. form of dur. *-i'yut<sup>i</sup>*, *-i'yut<sup>i</sup>*, local suffix IN THE THROAT, distributive form *-i'yoh<sup>a</sup>*, *-i'yoh<sup>a</sup>* (*t* of suffixes frequently changes to *h<sup>a</sup>* in distributive forms, cf. further *-o't* FACED: distr. *-o'h<sup>a</sup>*) (cf.

dur. *'aq'maq-e'yut* TO HAVE GRASS IN THE THROAT; distr. *i'kt<sup>i</sup>lh-ai'yoh<sup>a</sup>* RED HERE AND THERE AT THE THROAT, MARTEN; mom. *'att-taq-e'yut<sup>i</sup>* TO BE DOUBLE IN THE THROAT, BIRD SINGS DOUBLE NOTES).

124. *hε-* (from *h<sup>a</sup>v-*), stem TO BE UNABLE IN ANY WAY followed by irrealis *-a'h<sup>a</sup>* (e. g. *hε-tsa'ap'-a'h-si'* I COULD NOT TAKE IT TO ANY PLACE). *-s'li-*, i. e. *-ssli-*, unlauded from *-ssla-* (see notes 79, 109) and lengthened, as generally in short-voweled durative-inceptive forms, from *-ssla-*; *-ssla'* (after vowels), *-sila'* (after consonants), dur. verbal suffix TO ACT IN SUCH AND SUCH A WAY (e. g. *p'w-sila'* TO DO SOMETHING BAD); *-ssla'* assimilated from *\*-csila'* (cf. perhaps Kwakiutl *-ysi'la* TO TAKE CARE OF; this original *-c-* < *-γ-* explains *'ani'-sila'* TO ONLY DO SO < *\*'anaista'* < *\*'ana-γsila'*, cf. *qawi'*: *qawac-* SALMONBERRY < *\*qawaγ*). *-tci-*, from *-tci-*, inceptive suffix, see notes 35, 109, 5. *-a'h<sup>a</sup>*, modal word-suffix indicating uncertainty or unreality, particularly in negative clauses, act phonetically like *-att*, see note 1 (e. g. *wk'imi ko'w'p'a'h* DO-NOT STEAL-AT-ANY-TIME! *hayim<sup>i</sup>hatsi hsi'k'a'he's* NOW-I-DO-NOT-KNOW WHICH-WAY-I-SHOULD-GO).

125. *tsiq-*, verb stem TO SPEAK (e. g. dur.-iterative *tsi'q'isi'q-a'* TO BE TALKING, *tsi'q'ik'* TO BE FOND OF TALKING, *tsi'q'-p'itsh<sup>a</sup>* TO TALK WHILE DOING SOMETHING ELSE). *-citt*, momentaneous suffix, see note 18.

126. *qah<sup>a</sup>-*, see note 53. *-kwa-tci-*, for *-kwa-tcitt*, see note 5; *-kwa-tcitt*, momentaneous suffix *-tcitt* preceded by element *-kwa-* denoting COMPLETENESS, TOTALITY (e. g. *qa'h<sup>a</sup>-kwa-tcitt* PEOPLE DIE OFF, *xwak'-kwa-tcitt* TO BECOME ALL SWOLLEN UP), causative *-kwa'ap'* (e. g. *xits-kwa'ap'* TO CRUSH TO PIECES, *i'sax-kwa'ap'* TO SPEAR AT SEVERAL PEOPLE). *-xt'*, for *-at'*, passive suffix, see notes 72, 109, 118.

127. Contracted from *\*qa'yap'i'a'-at'-i'*, see notes 14, 26. *qa'yap'i'a'*, absolute noun LEG; no analysis suggests itself. *-at'-i'*, see note 26.

128. = *tlakic-cutl*, momentaneous aspect, see note 18, from verb stem *tlakic-* TO STAND. There is no simple durative corresponding to *tlakic-cutl*, as *tlakic-* ("softened" to *tlaki-*) as durative is regularly followed by some local suffix (e. g. *tlaki-s* TO STAND ON, used as nearest equivalent for TO STAND; *tlaki-qs* TO STAND IN A CANOE, WAGON, BOX; *tha'kic-s'ato'* TO STAND AT THE DOOR). *tlakic-* is based on simpler *tta-* STICK-LIKE OBJECT STANDS (e. g. *tta-yu'* STAKE FOR A WEIR, *tta-a'a'* A STICK STANDS UP ON THE ROCKS).

129. Gradulative in *-cutl*, with lengthened stem-vowel, from verb-stem *yats-* TO STEP, TO WALK (*yats-cutl* TO TAKE A STEP), see note 6; practically, *ya'ts-cutl* may be looked upon as inceptive to *ya'ts-uk'u* TO WALK, see note 107. Other derivatives of *yats-* are *yats-haut* TO WALK ON THE SIDE (OF A HILL), *ya'ts-a'q't'hit* TO WALK INTO THE BUSH, *yats-i'tss* TO TRACK, *yats-tspa'* TO GET PAST, *ya'ts-uh'* TO TRY TO REACH BY FOLLOWING IN ONE'S FOOTSTEPS.

130. *ho'a-*, stem BACK, RETURNING (e. g. *ho'i-ni'* TO COME BACK, *ho'a-i'sal'o'* TO REPEAT A WOLF RITUAL A YEAR LATER IN ABBREVIATED FORM). *-tsa-cutl*, see note 66; as momentaneous-iterative of mom. *hc'atsatcutl*, is found *hottha'tsalc* TO TURN BACK SEVERAL TIMES.

131. See notes 64, 33. Local object of preceding verb, completing *-tsa-*.

132. *huta-*, see note 106. *-qsutl*, mom. form of *-qs* IN A CANOE (e. g. dur. *tco-qs* TO KNEEL IN A CANOE WITH BENT BACK, *mo-qs* TO BE FOUR-IN-CANOED, TO HAVE FOUR [SALMON] IN ONE'S CANOE; iterative *hi'la'qsi't* TO GO INTO A CANOE SEVERAL TIMES); *-qs(utl)* is used only after vowels, *-ah's(utl)* after consonants, see note 62.

133. Momentaneous form of *thh'*, verb stem TO PADDLE, TRAVEL IN A CANOE (dur. *thh-ak'* TO PADDLE, mom. *thh'-cutl* TO SET OFF IN A CANOE, gradulative *thh'-cutl* TO BE PADDLING OFF). *-cutl*, see note 18.

134. Rhetorical lengthening of demonstrative stem *ya'* THAT YONDER (cf. note 17).

135. *tak-*, from verb stem *taku-* TO DO NOTHING BUT, EXCLUSIVELY, dur. *tak-ok'* TO DO SO AT ONCE. *-h'ia-tcutl*, inceptive local suffix TO BECOME OUT AT SEA; *-h'ia-* probably identical with *-h'ia-* of note 106, in which case *-h'ia-* is best analyzed as *-h'ia-* + dur. *-a-*, *tak-h'ia-a-tcutl* BEING PROPERLY TO BEGIN TO BE ALTOGETHER OUT ON THE SEA.

136. *i'ca'm'-ath'* name of a gnome-like being of the woods; *i'ca'm'-*, stem of unknown meaning; *-ath'* PERSON, PEOPLE, see note 87. *-i'ca'*, quotative article, see note 66.

137. *'o-*, see note 1; anticipates following temporal clause *thh'ca'eti'dq' i'ca'pokw'i' i'ca'm'-ath'e'*. *-ya'tl*, contracted from *-y'-att*, cf. notes 14, 26; *-y'* derivative verbal suffix AT THE TIME OF (e. g. *'o-yi'*, AT SUCH AND SUCH A TIME, WHEN, IF, *qwe-yi-ni-m-u-i'-s* AT WHAT TIME I CAME, WHEN I CAME), also *-yiya'*, *-yi'ya'* after vowels (e. g. *'ah'ko'-yi'ya'* TO BE AT THIS TIME, *tta'o'-yi'ya'* TO BE NEXT TIME, *'ah'a'-yi'yatt* < *-yi'ya* + *-att* NOW AT THAT TIME, passive *qoxwa-yiyat'* < *\*-yiya-ai'* TO BE SO DONE TO WHEN FREEZING), *-iya'*, *-i'ya'* after consonants (e. g. *'ath'-ya-satt* TO COME TO THE BEACH WHEN IT IS NIGHT, *kwist-i'ya'* TO BE AT A DIFFERENT TIME).

138. *ti'tca-tcutl*, inceptive aspect (TO BECOME ALIVE, TO GET WELL) of dur. *ti'tc* TO BE ALIVE (*ti'tc-a-* is used as durative base for other aspects, but not as independent durative; cf., further, iterative *ti'tca-tci't* TO BECOME WELL SEVERAL TIMES, distributive inceptive *ti'tca-tcutl* SEVERAL BECOME WELL), also used as verb stem *ti'tc-* (e. g. *ti'tc-ma'* HEART, *titi'i'c-ai'* TO PRAY FOR HEALTH). *-tci-eti'*, for *-tci-att*, see notes 5, 1.

139. See notes 133, 5, 1, 22. *-u'q'* is here temporal not because of any inherent value but because time subordination is demanded by preceding *'oya'tl*.

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140. See note 136.  $^{-}e'$ , phonetic variant of  $^{-}i'$ , see note 9. Note that quotative nominalizing  $^{-}i'ca'$  (note 136) changes to non-quotative  $^{-}i'$  because, once introduced, the  $l'cu'nc'ath'$  is conceived as known.

141. Contracted from  $*i'nzma^{-}ak^{-}i'$ , see notes 14, 26.  $i'nzma'$ , absolutive noun CLOTHING, REGALIA, derived from verb stem  $i'nax$  TO BE PREPARED, READY (dur.  $i'nzxa'$  TO BE READY, DRESSED UP, graduative  $i'nixa'$  TO BE GETTING READY, graduative causative  $i'nixa^{-}ap'$  TO BE GETTING SOMETHING READY, momentaneous  $i'naxi^{-}tcut'$  TO GET READY, momentaneous causative  $i'naxi^{-}yap'$  TO GET SOMETHING READY);  $^{-}ma'$ , absolutive noun suffix, cf. note 12.  $^{-}ak^{-}i'$ , see note 15.

142.  $ti^{-}$ ,  $ti^{-}$ , verb-stem TO RUB (ONESELF) (e. g.  $ti^{-}tcut'$  TO RUB ONCE,  $ti^{-}tcu'$  TO RUB ONESELF DOWN, iterative  $tittiy^{-}a'$  TO RUB ONESELF ALL OVER,  $tut-n'kumi'$  HAND-RUBBING-OBJECT, TOWEL).  $^{-}m's^{-}ap'$ , causative in  $^{-}ap'$  (see note 72) of  $^{-}m's$ ,  $^{-}ms$ , local suffix MOVING ON THE BEACH (e. g.  $tha-mi's$  A STICK-LIKE OBJECT IS PUT UP SEVERAL TIMES ON THE BEACH,  $wk^{-}maq^{-}mi's$  TO GO ABOUT THE BEACH AND BE UNMANLY,  $o^{-}na'h^{-}ms$  TO LOOK FOR SO AND SO ON THE BEACH,  $ak^{-}wat^{-}nah^{-}ms$  TO LOOK ABOUT THE BEACH TO BORROW);  $^{-}m's$  is contracted from  $*m'ys$ ,  $*mays$ , "softened" from  $^{-}mat$  MOVING ABOUT and  $^{-}is$  ON THE BEACH, cf. note 84 (analogous forms are  $^{-}mi^{-}t$ ,  $^{-}mit$  MOVING ABOUT IN THE HOUSE,  $^{-}ma's$ ,  $^{-}mas$  MOVING ABOUT ON THE GROUND, FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE,  $^{-}mi'a'$ ,  $^{-}mi'a'$  MOVING ABOUT ON THE ROCKS; with preserved  $^{-}mat$ , which does not seem to occur alone, e. g.  $^{-}mat-ap'$  MOVING ABOUT STANDING,  $^{-}mat-t'$  MOVING ABOUT ON THE BODY,  $^{-}mat^{-}m'$  MOVING ABOUT IN THE WATER), and is not a true iterative (the true iterative of  $thz^{-}is$  A STICK-LIKE OBJECT STANDS ON THE BEACH, e. g., is  $tha^{-}si's$ ), though often practically used as such.

143. See note 84.

144. See note 28. Specifies the local idea contained in the preceding verb: HE WAS ON THAT BEACH.

145. "Softened" from  $mo^{-}tci^{-}t$  TO BE FOR FOUR DAYS, see note 97, and  $^{-}is$  ON THE BEACH.

146. Contracted from  $*htatssoh^{-}ta^{-}att^{-}tha$ , see notes 14, 137.  $hta^{-}$ , see note 106.  $^{-}tssoh^{-}ta'$  (after vowels),  $^{-}soh^{-}ta'$  (after consonants), local suffix OUT OF THE WOODS, probably containing element  $^{-}h^{-}t$  - discussed in note 106 (e. g.  $yatssoh^{-}ta'$  TO WALK OUT OF THE BUSH,  $mat^{-}soh^{-}ta'$  TO FLY OUT OF THE BUSH,  $sa^{-}tssoh^{-}ta'$  [A WOLF] COMES OUT OF THE WOODS, iterative  $sa^{-}tssoh^{-}tun'i'$  [WOLVES] KEEP COMING OUT OF THE WOODS).  $^{-}att$ , see note 1.  $^{-}tha$ , see note 46.

147. Phonetic variant of  $qwayat'si^{-}k'$ , absolutive noun WOLF from stem  $qwayats$  (e. g.  $qwayats^{-}i'nak'$  TO IMITATE A WOLF IN A DANCE,  $qwayats^{-}ox^{-}sum'$  WOLF HEAD-MASK).  $^{-}i'k'$  absolutive noun suffix "hardening" preceding consonants (cf.  $hze'i'i'k'$  LIGHTNING SERPENT, literally ALWAYS COILING DOWN TO THE GROUND?); perhaps ultimately identical with "hardening"  $^{-}ik'$  TO BE FOND OF — ING, TO BE ALWAYS — ING (e. g.  $tu'w^{-}ik'$  TO BE FOND OF JUMPING,  $tsi'{-}ik'$  TO BE FOND OF TALKING,  $na'{-}ik'$  TO BE A DRUNKARD),  $^{-}i'k'$ , reduplicates with long vowel in reduplicating syllable, TO BE ALWAYS — ING (e. g.  $l'co'lcuc^{-}i'k'$  TO BE ALWAYS SUSPICIOUS,  $i'vc'qhawk^{-}w^{-}i'k'$  TO BE FOND OF TELLING THINGS).

148. See notes 109, 46.

149.  $tsusk$ , verb-stem TO URINATE ON (used only of animals).  $^{-}ci^{-}et'$ , see note 118.  $^{-}uk'u'$ , see note 10.

150.  $mutsmoh$ , irregularly reduplicated stem with  $^{-}is$  after reduplicating vowel; other examples of this inserted  $^{-}is$  in reduplicated forms are  $matmayxwn'$  SPIRITS WHO SPEAR PASSERS-BY, iterative  $l'htsi'hi'ya'$  TO SHOOT SEVERAL TIMES, and forms in  $^{-}sut$  IN THE EYE,  $^{-}sum'$  WHAT IS AT THE EYE (e. g.  $nuts'no'q^{-}sut$  TO HAVE A BOIL ON THE EYE,  $yatsya'k^{-}sut$  TO BE SORE INSIDE THE

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EYE, *hatsbmik-sumi* EYELASHES, *k'utsk'o'xu-sumi* SCALES IN THE EYE). -aq', derivative noun suffix HIDE, SKIN (e. g. *tukw-aq'* SKIN); more common is stem-shortening -a'aq' (e. g. *'atuc-a'aq'* DEER-HIDE < *'a'tuc* DEER, *'at'axw-a'aq'* BEAVER-HIDE).

151. *qwa-*, see notes 21, 27. -'ak', postvocalic form of word suffix denoting alienable possession, see notes 10, 149, also notes 15, 39, 141. What is possessed is here URINE (understood).

152. See note 22.

153. *kats-*, verb-stem TO HAIL (mom. *kats-cut* TO HAIL, dur. *kats-a'* TO BE HAILING, HAILY, mom.-iterative *katska'ts-c* TO HAIL AT FREQUENT INTERVALS). -o'muni', derivative noun suffix of unknown meaning (MASS OF GLOBULES? cf. *'laq'-omun'* DISEASE LIKE CHICKEN-POX); contains absolutive noun suffix -'ni', cf. note 23.

154. *wal-*, verb-stem TO RETURN HOME, cf. note 95. -c'-'at', see note 53.

155. *mah'i'v'* noun HOUSE. *ma-*, stem GROUP OF PEOPLE, TO DWELL AS A COMMUNITY (e. g. *ma-'as* TRIBE, VILLAGE, *ma-'it'sa's* A HOUSE STANDS AGAINST THE HILL, *ma-mat-'m'* DWELLING WHILE MOVING ABOUT IN THE WATER, WHITE MAN, *ma-tci-'t* TO BE INSIDE THE HOUSE, *ma-stc'm'* DWELLING NEXT TO, COMMON MAN). -h'i'v', derivative noun suffix of unknown meaning, perhaps related to -h't-, see notes 106, 135. *ma-h'i'v'* DWELLING PLACE OUT IN THE OPEN, AWAY FROM THE WOODS?

156. See note 6.

157. *'icu-*, verb-stem FISH, SEA-MAMMALS RUN; dur. *'icu-'ak'*. -k'we-'at', phonetic variant of -k'w-'at', for -k'w't + -'at', see note 5; -k'w'dt, momentaneous suffix, see note 32; -'at', see note 1.

158. *qah'a-*, see note 53. -sa'p', momentaneous causative, see note 36.

159. *ya'a'nu'* = *yaq(w)-* + "hardening" -'a'n-'t', see note 62. *yaqw-* (before stem-suffixes), *yaq-* (before word suffixes, cf. note

185), general denominating stem for relative clauses, as is 'o- (see note 1) for main clauses and *qwu-* (see note 55) for indirect questions; it may be translated WHO, WHICH, WHAT, and is always completed by a relative suffix (-'t'q', as here, some form in -qa-, see note 74, or some form in -v-, -v', -y-, -y', see note 73); examples of stem-form *yaqw-* are *yaq'-tci-'ath'a-'t'q'* NEXT TO WHOM ONE LIVES, ONE'S NEIGHBORS, *yaqw-ats-'t'q'* TO WHOM IT BELONGS, *yaq-tsh'a-'t'q'* TO WHOM HE IS MARRIED. -'a'n-'t-, form taken by passive -'at', see note 72, when combined with -t-, perfective suffix (for active perfectives cf. *ho'ya't-t-ah* I HAVE BEEN DANCING, *ha'wut-t-w'uni'* THERE WAS A CHIFF, IT IS SAID, *ho'ya't-u-a'* HE HAS BEEN, HAD BEEN DANCING; for passive perfectives cf. *ha'ok'w-a-n-u-a'* IT WAS EATEN UP); without perfective -t- this form would be *ya'at''t'q'*. -'t'q', see notes 22, 110, 139. *ya'a'nu'*, as passive, is analogous to *'ah'a't'*, note 117; syntactically, *ya'a'nu'* 't'q' *t'h'wun'ap'at' k'wal'sats* is subject of *qah'sa'p'*.

160. Modal adverb; properly, durative absolute used as complementary infinitive to preceding verb. *'yo'-qwa'* is evidently compounded of *'yo-*, probably petrified demonstrative stem found only with following *qwa'*, and durative *qwa'* TO BE IN QUALITY, see notes 21, 27. It is one of the exceedingly rare cases in which a primary stem comes in second position.

161. *'sax-cut*, see note 58. -t'a, see notes 46, 146.

162. *hn-*, see note 101. -'p' (after consonants), -'yp' (after vowels, see note 163), verbal suffix TO GET, TO OBTAIN (e. g. *p'ic-'p'* TO GET SOME BAD [SICKNESS], see also notes 165, 173); -'p' seems to be momentaneous in aspect, while -'p', lengthening stem-vowel, is durative (e. g. *'ay-'p'* TO OBTAIN MANY THINGS AT A CERTAIN TIME, but *'a'y-'p'* TO BE GETTING MUCH RIGHT ALONG). -t'a', see note 46.

163. *mo-*, see note 97. <sup>2</sup>*yɔp'* postvocalic form of *-ɪp'*, see note 162 (see also notes 171, 172, 176).

164. Durative absolute in *-a'* (cf. inceptive *'ani'-tɔt* TO GET TO BE THE ONLY ONE, TO ALONE BECOME); *'ana-* is freely used as verb stem TO BE ONLY, formally analogous to *'aya-* TO BE MUCH (e. g. *'ana-tssmo'is* TO BE THE ONLY ONE ALONG THE BEACH, *'a'na-tɔt* TO DO SO AND SO ONLY TO, *'a'n-ɪ-s-ɔt-sa'* TO EAT NOTHING BUT...).

165. *su'c-*, verb-stem TO BE FIVE (form of stem used before vowels, e. g. *su'c-ɪ-q'* FIVE-TWENTIES, ONE HUNDRED, *su'c-ɪ-iss* TO CARRY FIVE OBJECTS IN THE HAND, *su'c-o-k'wat* FIVE ARE MISSING, *susu'c-nih'* [red.] TO BE FIVE FINGER-WIDTHS LONG; before consonantal suffixes it appears as *su'ca-*, e. g. *su'ca-qumit* FIVE ROUND OBJECTS, *su'ca-l'suq'* FIVE LONG CYLINDRICAL OBJECTS, *su'ca-p'it* FIVE LONG FLAT OBJECTS, *su'ca-h'tak'* FIVE BAGS FULL, *su'ca-tɔt* FIVE DAYS, *su'ca-qs* TO HAVE FIVE [SALMON] IN THE CANOE, *su'ca-p'at* TO CARRY FIVE OBJECTS ON THE BACK), as durative absolute *su'ca-ɪp'*, see note 162 (but also note 171).

166. *l'ɪup'ɪtɕh'* TO BE SUMMER consists of verb-stem *l'tup-* and "hardening" *-ɪtɕh'*; *l'tup-*, verb-stem TO BE HOT (e. g. dur. *l'top-a'* WEATHER IS HOT, *l'top-a't* OBJECT IS HOT, *l'top'ɪy'ha'* TO DIE OF HEAT, i. e. TO SWEAT, *l'top'-q'* TO BE HOT ON THE TOP END; less frequently *l'tom-*, e. g. *l'to'm-ahs* TO BE HOT IN A RECEPTACLE, i. e. HOT WATER). *-ɪtɕh'*, see note 61. *-ɔt*, see note 61.

167. *ɔ'o-*, reduplicated form of *'o-*, see note 1. *-ɪtɕh'*, properly *-ɪtɕh'*, "hardening" verb suffix which causes reduplication of stem, TO BE IN PURSUIT OF, TO TRY TO GET, TO HUNT (such animals or objects as may be obtained in number) (e. g. *thutu'y-ɪh'* TO GO HERRING-FISHING < *thus-mat'* HERRING, *tutuck'-ɪh'* TO GO COD-FISHING < *tuck-o'h'* COD, *l'toit'onup'ɪtɕh'* TO HUNT ELK < *l'to'numi* ELK, *hɪtɕe'w-ɪh'* TO

GO FOR SEA-EGGS < *he'x*, stem *he'xw-* SEA-EGG); *-ɪtɕh'* also occurs after both noun and verb stems, unreduplicated, to mean TO TRY TO GET, TO BE AFTER, generally with lengthened stem-vowel (e. g. *'mɛ-ɪtɕh'* TO TRY TO GET THE ONE HELD IN THE MOUTH [BY THE WOLF], i. e. TO ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE A NOVICE IN THE WOLF RITUAL, *ya't's-ɪh'* TO TRACK, TO TRY TO GET BY FOLLOWING IN ONE'S STEPS, *he'y-ɪh'* TO BE AFTER BLOOD < *hes-mɛs* BLOOD), also with unlengthened stem-vowel, in which case it means TO WANT (e. g. *k'u's-ɪh'* TO WANT MUSSELS, *tu'c-ɪh'* TO WANT A WOMAN); finally, *-ɪtɕh'* forms derivatives from certain verb-stems with both reduplication and lengthening of stem-vowel (e. g. *'na'na'ɪc-ɪh'* TO WATCH FOR < *'nɔt-* TO LOOK). *-ɔt*, inceptive suffix, see note 18 (cf. also *hni'ɪtɕh'-ɔt* TO GO AFTER).

168. *'o-*, lengthened from *'o-*, see note 1, because of iterative aspect (cf. note 50). *-w'a't* iterative form of *-w'* TO BE THE FIRST (e. g. *'o-w'* SO AND SO IS FIRST, *'o-w'-tsaga'* TO COOK SO AND SO FIRST, causative *'o-w'-ɪap'* TO LET SO AND SO BE THE FIRST). *-ɪap'*, causative suffix, see note 72 (all iteratives in final *-t* form their causative in *-ɪap'*, e. g. *-ɔ't-ɪap'* TO CAUSE REPEATEDLY TO BE ON THE ROCKS, *-ap'uh'ni't-ɪap'* TO CAUSE REPEATEDLY TO BE UNDER, *-ɪa't-ɪap'* TO CAUSE REPEATEDLY TO BE OFF, *-ɪi't-ɪap'* TO CAUSE REPEATEDLY INTO THE HOUSE).

169. *mo'yɔp'ait*, see notes 163, 1. *-tla*, see note 46.

170. *wk-*, see note 10. *-l'mv'-tɕ-ait*, from unlauded *\*-l'ma'-tɕt* + *-ait*, see notes 79, 5. *-l'ma'*, derivative suffix denoting ABILITY (e. g. *wk-l'ma'* TO BE UNABLE). *-tɕt*, inceptive suffix, see notes 109, 124. *-ait*, see note 1.

171. *su'c'ɪyɔp'*, parallel to and apparently entirely synonymous with *su'ca'p'* (see note 165); based on *su'ca-*, which is lengthened and unlauded to *su'c'ɪ-* before *-ɪyɔp'* (as before *mom.* or inceptive *-tɕt* and its causative

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-*yap*, cf. notes 79, 109). -*yip'*, see note 63. -*att*, see note 1. -*lla'*, see note 46.

172. *hayo'*, with lengthening of final vowel before -*yip'* (cf. note 171) from *hayu-*, verb-stem TO BE TEN, durative absolute *hayu'* (examples of stem *hayu-* are *hayu-q'* TEN-TWENTIES; TWO HUNDRED, *hayu-qwim'i* TEN ROUND OBJECTS, *hayu-l'suq'* TEN LONG CYLINDRICAL OBJECTS, *hayu-p'it* TEN LONG FLAT OBJECTS, *hayu-p'at* TO HAVE TEN OBJECTS ON THE BACK, *hayu-icat* TEN DAYS, *hayu-iss* TO CARRY TEN OBJECTS IN THE HAND). -*cutl*, see note 18; form in -*cutl* apparently synonymous with simpler form without it (cf. note 176), unless -*cutl* is here perfective: HAD OBTAINED TEN.

173. *'attakwat*, numeral EIGHT, literally TWO ABSENT (FROM TEN). *'att-*, verb stem TO BE TWO (e. g. *'att-qm'i* TWO ROUND OBJECTS, *'att-i't* TO BE TWO IN THE HOUSE, *'att-h'tak'* TWO BAGS FULL, *'att-tci't* TWO DAYS, *'a'at-ah'eni* TO BE TWO ON THE END, *'att-sa'tso'* TO BE IN TWO PLACES), before certain suffixes *'atta-* (e. g. distributive *'a'atta-kwat* THERE ARE TWO MISSING OUT OF EACH [PILE], *'atta-qs-ut* TO BE TWO IN A RECEPTACLE IN THE HOUSE), durative absolute *'atta'*. -*kwat*, -*kwa't*, verb suffix TO BE ABSENT, MISSING (e. g. *qe-kwa't* TO STAY AWAY FOR A LONG TIME, *mo-kwa't* FOUR ARE GONE, *yaq'-kwa't-'it'q'* WHO IS ABSENT, *hata-kwat-cutl* TOGETHER TO BE AWAY, TO GO AWAY, *'a'ya-kwat-cutl-sa'* TO GET TO BE TOO MUCH-MISSING, TO SPEND TOO MUCH); analogous to *'atta-kwat* EIGHT IS *'sawa-kwat* ONE ABSENT (FROM TEN), NINE. -*'p'*, see note 162.

174. *'o-*, see note 1. -*yo'at*, see note 65. -*'it'*, perfective suffix, see note 159. -*'i*, nominalizing suffix, see note 9. In apposition with *tea'ats'v'b'*.

175. See note 67. Formally, *'oh'* is complementary infinitive to *'oyo'at'it'*; it serves to emphasize *tea'ats'v'b'* in contrast to *k'wal'sits*: HE FOR HIS PART.

176. See note 172. *hayu-* merely phonetic variant of *hayo'*.

177. *ha'o-*, verb-stem TO DO IN TURN, TO PASS ON TO THE NEXT, metaphorically TO TAKE REVENGE (e. g. iterative *ha'ttho'-qsa-te* GENERATION PASSES AFTER GENERATION). -*kwu'-z'it*, for -*kwu'-att*, see notes 157, 32, 5.

178. *satck-*, verb-stem TO BE SHARP (e. g. red. *sasatck'-wu'* TO BE SHARP-CLAWED, *satck-aq'sut* TO BE SHARP-TOOTHED, *saick'-ahs* COMB, literally BEING SHARP INSIDE), here metaphorically for STRONG. -*ok'*, see note 10. -*'icac*, modal verb suffix denoting INFERENCE, IT SEEMS, here ironically; consists of -*'ica-* and -*c*, of which -*'ica-* is inferential (cf. nominalizing -*'ca'*, note 66) and -*c* emphasizing (e. g. *satckok'-si-c* MINE IS INDEED SHARP). The pronominal paradigm for -*'ica-c* (cf. interrogative paradigm in note 1) is:

|                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sing. 1. - <i>'ca-si-c</i> | Plur. 1. - <i>'cu-ni-c</i> |
| 2. - <i>'ca-k-c</i>        | 2. - <i>'ca-so-c</i>       |
| 3. - <i>'ca-c</i>          | 3. - <i>'ca-c(-'at)</i>    |

179. See note 54.

180. *'a'qen'qha*, for *'a'qni-qh-ha*. *'a'q-* lengthened from *'aq-* (before vowels), *'aqv-*, *'aqv-* (before consonants), interrogative verb-stem WHAT? always followed by interrogative -*ha-* (e. g. dur. absolute *'aq-ak'-ha'* WHAT IS IT? *'aqv-yh'taqak'-ha'* WHAT IS IT MADE OF? *'a'u'qiyuk'-ha-k'* WHY DO YOU CRY? *'a'qv-l'sus-ha-k'* WHAT ARE YOU LAUGHING ABOUT? *'aqi-sk'-ha'* WHY DID HE GO AWAY? *'aqv-s-ha-k'* WHAT ARE YOU EATING? *'a'aq-o''i-s-ha-k'* WHAT ARE YOU SAYING? *'aqv-yu'at-ha-k'* WHAT DO YOU SEE? *'aqe-'yom-ut-ha-k'* WHAT DID YOU FIND? *'aqv-qs-ha-k'* WHAT [GAME] HAVE YOU IN YOUR CANOE? *'aqe-s-ha'* WHAT IS ON IT? *'aqe-tci'cutt-ha'* WHAT CAME TO BE ON THE SURFACE OF THE WATER?). -*ni'*, verb suffix lengthening stem-vowel, probably TO BE BECAUSE OF, cf. causative *'a'qni-'ap-ha-k'* WHAT ARE YOU DOING? (this stem lengthening -*ni'*, which does not seem to occur freely, may be related to postvocalic -*no'tt*, postconsonantal -*ni'tt*, with movable momen-

taneous *-it*, TO BE BECAUSE OF, e. g. 'o'-no'-s-'a'la' DO SO TO ME CUSTOMARILY FOR THE REASON THAT... *!qwa'-no'it-u-ah* FOR THAT REASON I WAS, *yaqw-un'it-'u'q'* FOR WHICH REASON HE... -*qh* (after vowels and *h*), -*h*- (after consonants), see note 55. -*ha*, interrogative suffix, third person, see note 120. 'a'qniqb(h)a would seem to mean literally FOR WHAT REASON IS HE WHILE (DOING SO) ? i. e. WHY DOES HE, WHY DID HE... ? -*qh*- anticipating 'atlakwah:p', which follows complementary infinitive.

181. See notes 164, 74.

182. 'u'yi-, broken from 'o'o'yi-, see notes 179, 54. -*watl*, i. e. -*wait* (after vowels), -*awatl* (after consonants), verbal suffix which lengthens stem-vowel (SO AND SO) FALLS TO ONE'S LOT, TO HAVE SOMETHING COME TO ONE (e. g. 'o'-*wait* IT IS SO AND SO THAT FALLS TO ONE'S LOT, *wi'k-awatl* TO HAVE NOTHING COME TO ONE); loses *-it* before *-'att* and analogous elements (see note 5), e. g. *wi'k-awa-'att*.

183. See notes 172, 176. -*att*, see note 1. -*s*-, first person singular subject of absolute paradigm, see note 1.

184. Independent first person singular pronoun, here used because of emphasis. *si'ya-* is also used as base in certain verbal forms, e. g. *si'ya'-q-* TO BE I, *si'ya'-s-* TO BE MINE (generally with repeated first person singular pronominal suffix, e. g. *si'ya'-q-ah* IT IS I, literally I AM I; *si'ya'-s-ah* IT IS MINE, literally I AM I-HAVING; causative *si'ya'-'ap'-is* LET IT BE ME! literally CAUSE ME [-s] TO BE I). *si-'ya'* is evidently based on absolute -*s*-, sometimes reduced to -*s* (see notes 183, 1); *si-* is freely used as stem in derivatives, of which *si-'ya'* is really one (cf. *si-'tct* TO DO TO ME, *si-'atup'* TO DO FOR ME, *si-'putt-qa-s* THAT I GET TO BE I WHO AM ERECT, THAT I HAVE TAKEN FIRST RANK; -*putt* is

momentaneous of -*pi'* stem-lengthening suffix, see note 90). Parallel to *si'ya'*, *si-* are *so'wa'* YOU (*so'wa'-q-e'us* IT IS YOU, *so'wa'-s-e'us* IT IS YOURS), *sol-* (e. g. *sol-t-it* TO DO TO YOU, *sut-na'k'* TO HAVE YOU [AS CHIEF]); *ni'wa'* WE (*ni'wa'-q-ini* IT IS WE, *ni'wa'-s-ini* IT IS OURS), *ni(h)-* (e. g. *ni'h-εt* TO DO TO US, *n(h)-a'atup'* TO MAKE FOR US); *si'wa'* YE (*si'wa'-q-e'itso'* IT IS YE, *si'wa'-s-e'itso'* IT IS YOURS), *sh-* (e. g. *sh-εt* TO DO TO YOU, *sh-a'atup'* TO DO FOR YOU).

185. *yaq-*, see note 159; note that absolute *yaq-*, not stem-form *yaqw-*, is used because it is followed by a word-suffix (relative -*e-*), not a stem-suffix. -*e-s*-, relative suffix with first person singular subjective element, cf. note 73. Paradigm :

|                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>yaq-e'-s</i> | Plur. 1. <i>yaq-i-ni</i>          |
| 2. <i>yaq-e'-k'</i>      | 2. <i>yaq-e'-so'</i>              |
| 3. <i>yaq-e'</i>         | 3. <i>yaq-e'-(<sup>2</sup>at)</i> |

Quotative -*tc-* (cf. notes 66, 178, 58) frequently unites with subordinating suffixes (e. g. interrogative -*ha-tc* HE, AS THEY SAY... ? 'am-i'ci-ni THAT WE, AS IS SAID... ; -*qa-tc-s* THAT I, AS THEY SAY; -*qo'-tc-k'* IF YOU, AS IS SAID,...). For relative forms of *yaq-* we have, as quotative paradigm :

|                             |                                      |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. <i>yaq-e'-ts-s</i> | Plur. 1. <i>yaq-e'-i'ci-ni</i>       |
| 2. <i>yaq-e'-tc-k'</i>      | 2. <i>yaq-e'-ts-so'</i>              |
| 3. <i>yaq-e'-tc</i>         | 3. <i>yaq-e'-tc-(<sup>2</sup>at)</i> |

Other examples of first person singular relatives in -*i-s*-, -*ys*-, -*yi'*-s are 'oyi. mat'-citt-i's THE-TIME THAT-I-FLEW-OFF, WHEN I FLEW OFF; *hamat'amah qwi-'yi'ha-ys* I-KNOW OF-WHAT-I-DIE; 'oyi. mala'-yi's WHEN I WAS FLYING.

186. *wa'-*, see note 122. -*att*, see note 1.



SOME WORD-COMPARISONS BETWEEN BLACKFOOT  
AND OTHER ALGONQUIAN LANGUAGES.

BY C. C. UHLENBECK.

The following list contains such word-comparisons between Blackfoot and other Algonquian languages as occurred to me while studying the Blackfoot materials collected by de Josselin de Jong and myself in 1910 and 1911, besides many others made by Michelson and Sapir. It is by no means exhaustive, but still I hope it will be of some use to other students of Algonquian, who have greater opportunities for comparative studies in this fascinating field. I have only to add that purely formative elements have been excluded. They belong to the domain of comparative grammar, not to that of comparative lexicology, to which these rather scanty notes are devoted.

As to my Blackfoot orthography, which, as I am very well aware, may be improved in many respects, see VKAWA., Afd. Letterk., N. R., XIV, No. 1, p. 4-6. Details about many Blackfoot stems mentioned below may be found in my paper, "A survey of the non-pronominal and non-formative affixes of the Blackfoot verb" (VKAWA., Afd. Letterk., N. R., XX, No. 2).

In this paper the following abbreviations are used: Abn. = Abnaki, Alg. = Algonkin Ar. = Arapaho, Bl. = Blackfoot, Ch. = Cheyenne, Del. = Delaware, Men. = Menomini, Mic. = Micmac, Mont. = Montagnais, Nat. = Natick, Oj. = Ojibway, Passam. = Passamaquoddy, Potaw. = Potawatomi. The names of other languages are given in full.

Bl. *á*, *á'* yes; Mic. *é* yes; Men. *e'* yes.

Bl. *áíá(u)* so-and-so; Oj. *awíia* somebody; Cree *awiyak* somebody; Fox *úwiyá'* somebody, something.

Bl. *áípánniu* (*ái-pánniu*) it clears up; Mic. *eubeniak* "il fait calme."

Bl. *ákai-*, *-kai-* (also *ikai-*, *ik-*) already; Oj. *gí-* sign of the perfect tense; Cree *ki-* sign of the perfect tense; Mont. *tíi-* initial stem meaning completion. Cf. *ksist-*.

Bl. *áké(ua)* woman; Oj. *ikwé* woman; Cree *iskweew* woman; Fox *i'kwáw'* woman; Mic. *-éskw'* old woman; Del. *ú'kwáw'* woman; Nat. *squáas*, *squas*, *squáus* woman.

Bl. *amít-*, *amítóytsi* up the river, *-amíto* goes up the river; Mic. *pítaw* up the river.

Bl. *ániu* says; Oj. *nind-iná* I tell him, I call him.

Bl. *ánná* (animate), *ánni* (animate and inanimate) that; Cree *aná* (animate), *ani* (inanimate) that.

Bl. *anná*, *annátsiks* where; Oj. *anin* what, how, *anindi* where, *aníswín* why, *aníníwápi* when.

Bl. *áp-* white; Oj. Cree Men. *wáb-*; Fox *wápi-*; Mic. *wób-*; Nat. *womp-*; Ch. *wo'pi* white.

Bl. *ápázm-* (*-opázm-*), *ápázmóytsi* across, *ápázmó* crosses; Cree *pim-*, *pimíts* across; Fox *pemi-* (*pem-*) to move past, to move by; Mic. *pemíei* "je marche."

Bl. *ápi-* (*-opi-*) to sit; Fox *ápi-* to sit.

Bl. *-ápi* eyes, *nít-ái-ápi* I see; Oj. Cree *wáb-* to see; Fox *wápx-* to look at; Mic. *-ápi-* to look at.

Bl. *ápiístotakiu* makes, *ápiístotám* makes it, *ápiístotóyiu* makes him, are based on a root *-tot-* to make; cf. Oj. *dódam* does, acts; Cree *totám* does.

Bl. *ápsí* arrow, *nó'psí* my arrow; Fox *-í'p'*

arrow, *nipi* my arrow. Connection with Ar. *nētc'* my arrow seems doubtful.

Bl. *as-* young, small; cf. Oj. *oski* new, recent, young; Cree *osk* new, young; Men. *oské*, *oské* new, young; Nat. *wuske*, *weske* new, young.

Bl. *átsētsi* mitten; Cree *astis* mitten.

Bl. *auámi* snowshoe; cf. Oj. *agim*, Cree *asam*; Men. *ákamok* snowshoe.

Bl. *aulakó* evening; Oj. *onágoš*, *onágwis* evening; Cree *otakusin*, *otakwāsan* evening; Men. *naqka* evening, *onáko* yesterday; Mic. *nelag* "ce soir," "le temps du soir."

Bl. *ein(ua)* buffalo; Fox *nēnusuw* buffalo.

Bl. *ixk-* (*-oʒk-*, *it-oʒk-*) on top, upon; cf. with an initial dental Cree *taku-*, *takutš* on top, upon.

Bl. *imitá(ua)* dog. I have thought of a possible connection with Oj. *anim*; Cree *atim*; Alg. *alim*; Nat. *anum*, etc. Then *-im* would be the radical element. Very doubtful.

Bl. *immú* is deep; cf. with an initial dental Oj. *dimi*; Cree *timiw*; Men. *temú* is deep.

Bl. *in-*, *ino-* long; cf. Oj. *gino-* (*ginw-*); Cree *kino-* (*kinw-*) long. Doubtful.

Bl. *inú* dies, *initsú* kills; Oj. *kakam-ine* dies suddenly, *dap-ine* dies in a certain place, *ondž-ine* dies on account of, *nissān* kills him, *niton* kills it; Cree *kiiyip-inew* dies suddenly, *otš-ina-tew* makes him die on account of; Fox. *nes-* to kill. Cf. also Oj. *nibó*; Cree *nipítw* dies.

Bl. *isk(a)* pail, bucket; Oj. *akik*; Cree *askik*; Men. *aqká* kettle. The relation of Bl. *isk(a)* to its possessive forms *nóʒk*, *kóʒk*, etc., is not clear.

Bl. *isok-* (*sok-*) heavy; perhaps to be compared to Oj. *sōng-*; Cree *sok-* strong (see also below s. v. *sok-* straight, suddenly, aloud). Ojibway has a root *kōs-* in the sense of "heavy", which one would feel inclined to consider as sprung from \**sok-* by metathesis.

Bl. *itomo* goes ahead of others, is the first one; Oj. *nitām*; Cree *nistam* first.

Bl. *k-*, *ki(t)-*, *ko-*, prefix of the 2 pers. sing. plur. and the 1 pers. plur. incl.; cf. Oj. *k-*, *ki(d)-*; Cree *k-*, *ki(t)-*, etc.

Bl. *-k*, *-ka(u)* foot, leg; cf. Cree *-ska-* with the foot; Fox *-sk(a)-* with the foot or leg. See also the independent word *moʒkštsis*.

Bl. *-ka-* to make something; Cree *-ke-* to make something.

Bl. *-kxm-* straight (in *ikxm-*, *mokxm-*, *okxm-*, *-okxm-*; where we find *kxm-* at the beginning of a verbal form, it is shortened from *ikxm-*); cf. Fox *-kxm-* "expresses the idea of indefinite space"; Men. *akamia* across.

Bl. *kamósiu* steals; Oj. *gimōdi*; Cree *kimodiw* steals.

Bl. *kan-*, *hanai-*, *kanau-*, *ixkan-*, *áʒkan-*, *-áʒkan-* all; cf. with reduplication Oj. *kakina*, Cree *kakiyaw* all.

Bl. *kak-* just, only; cf. Oj. *kakam* suddenly, shortening the way.

Bl. *kēka*, *kika* wait a moment!; Oj. *gega* almost, nearly, Cree *kekātš* almost, nearly.

Bl. *ki* and; cf. Oj. *gaiē* and, also, too.

Bl. *-kimi* water, liquid; Oj. *-gami*; Cree *-gamiw* water, liquid.

Bl. *kip-*, *kipi-* quickly, soon, just for a moment (also: "falsely, feigning"); Cree *kiiyipa*, *kipa*, *kiiyipi*, *kipi* quickly.

Bl. *kisēkinau* hail; cf. Oj. *kissinā*; Cree *kissin* it is cold.

Bl. *kóni* (*kóniskuyi*), *-ko* snow; Oj. *gōn*; Cree *kona*; Men. *kon*; Nat. *kōn*; Del. *kuun* snow.

Bl. *-ksist-* done, completed, finished; Cree *kisi-*, *kizi-* to finish; Fox *kic(i)-* "expresses the completion, the fulfilment, of an act"; Men. *kes-*, *kesb-* past. Cf. s. v. *akai-*.

Bl. *ksistsikiiyi* day, *ksistsikúma* thunder, *késám* sun, moon; cf. Oj. *gizis* sun, moon, *gizigad* day; Cree *kizikaw* day; Fox *kicesw* sun; Men. *késo*, *géso*, *késo* sun, *késikōt* day, *késekoq* heaven, *késik*, *késik* sky; Nat. *kesuk* day; Ar. *hišis* sun.

Bl. *ksistuytu* is warm; cf. Oj. *kiz-*; Cree *kis-*,

*hiž-* warm, to be warm; Ar. *hā'sitā<sup>a</sup>* it is hot.

Bl. *m-*, *m-* indefinite possessive prefix "somebody's"; cf. the equivalent *m-* prefixes of other Algonquian languages.

Bl. *mak-*, *mak-ap-* bad; cf. Oj. Cree *matsi* bad.

Bl. *makūyi* (-*okuyi*) wolf; cf. Oj. *maingan*; Cree *mahigan*; Fox *má'hwāw<sup>a</sup>*; Men. *māqwāio*, *moqwāio*; Nat. *mukquoshim*; Ch. *mahō'wiiw<sup>a</sup>* wolf.

Bl. *mamiu* (-*omi-*) fish; cf. Oj. *namē*, Cree *namew*; Alg. *lamek* sturgeon; Nat. *namohs*; Del. *namws* fish.

Bl. *man-* new, young; Nat. *nun-* young in *nunkomp* young man, *nunqsqua*, *nunqsq* girl, young woman. Is there an intimate kinship-relation between Bl. *mānikā'pi*, *mānikā'pi* unmarried young man and Nat. *nunkomp*? Cf. however the other Natick words in *-omp*, which make such a special relation less probable.

Bl. *mat-* go, *au-mat-* to start, *āu-matō* starts; Oj. *māžā* starts; Cree *mātži-* to start, to begin.

Bl. *mat-* not; Nat. *mat*; Del. *mat-* not (cf. Natick *matta*, *matchaog*, *mo* no).

Bl. *matāpi(ua)*, *-tapi-* person, perhaps akin to Nat. *-tomp* in *wosketomp* man. Or belongs *wosketomp* (*wosket-omp*?) to the other words in *-omp*? Nat. *wuske* means "young" (cf. s. v. *as-*).

Bl. *matsikin* moccasin, his moccasin, *natsikin* my moccasin; Oj. *makižin*; Cree *maskisin*; Men. *maqkāsīn*; Mic. *m'kešen* moccasin.

Bl. *matsint* tongue, his tongue, *natsint* my tongue; Oj. *-enanīw*; Cree *mit-eyaniy* tongue, *niteyaniy* my tongue; Men. *mitānuni<sup>a</sup>*; Mic. *milnoo*; Del. *-ilnō*; Ar. *beidan*; Gros Ventre *-itāni* tongue.

Bl. *mi-* (-*i-*) hard, strong; cf. Nat. *menuhk-*; Mic. *melk-* strong. See also s. v. *miskapiu*.

Bl. *mik-* (*mek-*) red; Oj. *misk-*; Cree *mik-*; Fox *meckw-*; Men. *māqkik*, *māqkik*, *māqkū<sup>a</sup>* red (*māqki* blood); Passam. *ḡkw-* red; Nat. *musqui*, *mishque*, *msqui* (it is) red.

Bl. *misk-* instead, *misk-* (-*isk-*), *miskit-* instead, notwithstanding; Oj. *meškwał*; Cree *meskułš* instead. The Ojibway and Cree verbal forms that belong here convey the idea of "changing, exchanging."

Bl. *miskim* (-*iskim*) metal; cf. Ar. *beičihei*, *māhi'itsitā*; Gros Ventre *beisit* metal. Very doubtful.

Bl. *mini* berry; Oj. *-min* berry, fruit, *min* whortleberry, bilberry, blueberry; Cree *min* fruit, corn; Fox *-min<sup>a</sup>* fruit, grain, berry (also *-min'*); Men. *men* berry, *-min* fruit; Del. *-min* fruit; Nat. *-minne* berry, small fruit of any kind; Ch. *men* berry.

Bl. *minni* island; Oj. *minis* island, *minitič* island in a river; Cree *ministik* island.

Bl. *minok-* (-*inok-*) happy, *minokāpiu* (-*inokāpiu*) there is plenty, *minipokāu* a child of plenty; cf. Oj. *minō*; Cree *milo* good; Fox *menw-* to take pleasure in.

Bl. *miskapiu* is strong; Oj. *maškawiži* (animate), *maškawa* (inanimate); Cree *maskawisiw* (animate), *maskawaw* (inanimate) is strong. Cf., however, *mi-*.

Bl. *mistsis* (-*itsi-*) tree, log; Oj. *mitič*; Cree *mistik*; Fox *mē'legwi*; Shawnee *"legwi*; Men. *mē'tig* (or *mē'tig* ?); Nat. *mebtug*; Del. *mehittuck* tree.

Bl. *mokēkin* breast, *nokēkin* my breast; cf. Oj. *kakigan*, *-kigan* breast, *nin-kikigan* my breast; Cree *māskigan* breast, *nāskigan* my breast; Fox *kégā'ki* thy chest. The indefinite form *mokēkin* is not often used.

Bl. *moksis* awl, *noksis* my awl; cf. Oj. *nigōss* awl.

Bl. *mokū* (-*oku-*), *mokō* (-*oko-*) autumn; cf. Cree *mikiskaw* time between autumn and winter.

Bl. *možkātis* foot, leg, *nožkātis* my foot, my leg; Oj. *nikād* my leg; Cree *miskāt* leg, *niskāt* my leg; Fox *ū'katē* his foot (also *ū'kātān'*); Nat. *muhkont* leg, *wuhkont* his leg; Mic. *ankāt* my foot. Cf. *-k-*, *-ka(u)* foot, leg.

Bl. *možkinān* calf of the leg, *nožkinān* the

calf of my leg ; Oj. *ninān* the calf of my leg, *onānan* the calf of his leg.

Bl. *noʒkokini* neck, *noʒkokini* my neck ; Oj. *nikwegan* my neck ; Cree *mikweyaw* neck, *nikweyaw* my neck ; Men. *miqkikan* neck.

Bl. *noʒsokúyi* road, trail, *noʒsokúyi* my trail ; Oj. *mikanā* ; Cree *meskanaw* road, trail.

Bl. *noʒtókis* ear, *noʒtókis* my ear ; Oj. *nitawag* my ear ; Cree *mittāwoqay* ear, *nittāwoqay* my ear ; Fox *utáʔwzawgaʔ* his ear ; Mont. *utuki* his ear, *stuki* thy ear ; Men. *miqtawók* ear ; Nat. *méhtánuog* ear.

Bl. *motokis* hide, skin, *notokis* my skin ; cf. Cree *masakay* skin of the human body, *nasa-kay* ; Oj. *nin-žagaāi* my skin. The supposed connection of *motokis* with the Ojibway and Cree words is very doubtful, the more because by the side of *motokis* there seems to be a shorter form *-okis*.

Bl. *motoksis* knee, *notoksis* my knee ; cf. Oj. *-gidigw-* knee, *nin-gidig* my knee ; Cree *-kitikw-*, *mikitik* "molette du genou," *nikitik* "ma molette ;" Nat. *mukkuttuk* knee. A distant and complicated etymological connection is not very probable, though perhaps not quite impossible. A compositional abbreviation of the Blackfoot word is found in *ápisitoksisanópiu* kneels.

Bl. *mótoyis* navel, *nótoyis* my navel, is possibly akin to Men. *mitāʔ* navel, *otā* his navel. Ojibway has *nin-diss* my navel, *o-diss* his navel. That these forms are to be analysed in this way (and not *nind-iss*, *od-iss*), appears from Cree *notisis* my navel, *otisis* his navel.

Bl. *molsis* hand, *notsis* my hand ; Cree *mitchitchiy* hand, *nitchitchiy* my hand ; Ar. *bátcet* hand. But Oj. *ninindž* my hand, *onindž* his hand, seems to belong together with Nat. *menutcheg* hand, *nunnitchek* my hand, *wunnutch* his hand.

Bl. *motskínau* horn, *otskínau* his horn ; Oj. *éskan* ; Cree *éskan* ; Nat. *askon* horn, *wutaskon* his horn. The indefinite form *motskínau* seems to be very seldom used.

Bl. *moyis* lodge ; *nit-óyis* tipi ("real lodge"), Ar. *-aʔwu* ; Gros Ventre *-wúʔ*, *-wúhʔ* lodge.

Bl. *n-*, *ni(t)-*, *no-*, prefix of the 1 pers. sing. and the 1 pers. plur. excl. ; cf. Oj. *n-*, *ni-*, *nin(d)-* ; Cree *n-*, *ni-*, *ni-*, etc.

Bl. *naʔa* my mother (vocative) ; Ar. *naʔa* my mother (vocative). The ordinary, non-allocutional form for "my mother" in Arapaho is *néna(bu)*.

Bl. *namó(a)* bee ; Oj. *amo* ; Cree *ámow* bee ; Men. *ámák* bee (pl. *amóak*).

Bl. *nánai-*, *nánau-* finally ; Fox *nznā-* ready. Bl. *nányiu*, *-inóyiu* (with prefix *ai-* : *áinoyiu*) sees him, *-inim* (with prefix *ai-* : *áinim*) sees it ; cf. Fox *nā-*, *nāw-*, *nāu-* ; Abn. *nem* to see.

Bl. *napim* male ; Oj. *nabe* ; Cree *nabew* male ; Fox *kenápāmʔ* thy husband, *unápāmanʔ* her husband ; Nat. *nompaa*s male (of the human species), *nomposhim* male (animal).

Bl. *nato-* (*-ato-*), *natoap-* (*-atoap-*) endowed with supernatural power ; Cree *nanātāwihuwēin* medicine ; Fox *kenātāwinōnenānʔ* our (incl.) medicine. Cf. also Oj. *nanānd-* to doctor.

Bl. *nátoka*, *natok-*, *nat-*, *nist-* (*-ist-*), *nistok-* (*-istok-*) two. The relation between *nat-* and *nist-* is very obscure, though the *a* of *nat-* may be considered as "Algonquian change" of *i*. As to *nist-*, an etymological connection with Oj. *niž*, *nižo* ; Cree *nižo*, *nižw-* ; Fox *nīcwʔ* ; Ch. *nixā* (*niš*), Ar. *nīši* is very probable.

Bl. *nepú* (*-epu-*), *nipú* (*-ipu-*) summer ; Oj. *nibin* ; Cree *nipin* ; Men. *neʔpenōā* ; Nat. *nepun* summer.

Bl. *niksista* my mother, *oksisisi* his mother, cf. Del. *ngáhase* ; Nat. *nokas* ; Mic. *nʔkis* my mother.

Bl. *nimsa* my daughter-in-law, *ómsi* his daughter-in-law ; cf. Oj. *nimissé* my elder sister, *omisséian* his elder sister ; Cree *nimis* my elder sister (vocative *nimisé*) ; Del. *namesé* my elder sister. Very doubtful because of the different meaning.

Bl. *nínān(a)*, *-inān(a)* man, chief ; Oj. *inini* ;

Cree *ililiw*; Mont. *ilinú*; Fox *inenwa* (also *neniwa*; Men. *ináni* (ú); Shawnee *hileni*; Potaw. *nene*; Peoria *lāni-a*; Del. *lenno*; Nat. *ninnu*; Mic. *lnu*; Ch. *bitan*<sup>a</sup>; Ar. *hinen, hiten*; Gros Ventre *hineni man*.

Bl. *nínixkatsiu* names him, *nínixkalóm* names it, *nínixkásim* name, *nítstnixkásim* my name, *otstnixkásim* his name; Oj. *izínika-* to call, to name, *izínikasowin* name; Cree *izihikā-* to call, to name, *izihikásuwim* name.

Bl. *nínixkiu*, *-inixkiu* (with prefix *ai-*: *áinixkiu*) sings; cf. Oj. *nagam-*; Cree *nikam-* to sing; Mont. *ts'inikimor*<sup>e</sup> thou singest, *nikimowats* they sing; Fox *nāgā-*, *nagz-* to sing.

Bl. *nīpuyi-* (*-ipuyi-*) to stand, *-aipuyi* (with prefix *ai-*) is standing, *nīpuđut* get up!, *nīsi-puáu* I get up, *aipuáu* is getting up; Oj. *nibawi*; Cree *nibāwīw* (*nīpāwīw*) stands; Men. *nīnēpuam* I stand, *nēpuē* stands; Nat. *nunnēpoh* I stand, *nēpau* stands.

Bl. *nīsa* my elder brother, *úsi* (*ósi*) his elder brother; Oj. *nissaiē* my elder brother, *ossaiēian* his elder brother; Ar. *nī<sup>a</sup>se'e* my elder brother.

Bl. *nīsisa* my younger brother or sister (a woman speaking), *oʒsisi* her younger brother or sister; Fox *nesese* my elder brother (or *nesesa* ?); Men. *na<sup>a</sup>né* my elder brother; Shawnee *wea* my elder brother.

Bl. *niskáni* (*niskána*) my younger brother (sister), *uskáni* his younger brother (sister); Oj. *nikanis* my friend, my brother.

Bl. *nisoó*, *niso*, *niso* four; cf. Oj. *niwin*; Cree *nēwo* four. In composition with preceding elements the initial *n* of the Blackfoot word is lost. Very doubtful.

Bl. *nítákem* my sister, *ótákem* his sister; Fox *netē'kwān<sup>a</sup>* my sister. Possessive forms of the word for "woman": see s. v. *áké(ua)*.

Bl. *nítázza* my daughter, *otázza* his daughter; Oj. *nindānis* (vocative *nindān*) my daughter, *odānis* his daughter, *odānan* his adult daughter; Cree *n'tānis* my daughter, *otānisa*

his daughter; Men. *mitān* daughter, *otānan* his daughter; Del. *n'dānuss* my daughter; Ar. *no<sup>a</sup>'tāne'* my daughter.

Bl. *nítúkska*, *nít-* (*-it-*) one, has been compared to different Algonquian numerals for "one". Of course it is not permissible to start from the independent form *nítúkska*! Probably Bl. *nít-* is to be identified with Ar. *-nīs(i)*, *-nīt-* one.

Bl. *niúókska*, *niúóka*, *ni-* (*-i-*) three. As in the preceding case it would be incorrect to start from the independent form. Cf. Oj. *nisswi*, *nisso-*; Cree *nisto*; Fox *nésuw<sup>i</sup>*; Abn. *nās<sup>a</sup>*; Ch. *naā* (*nabe*); Ar. *nāsā* three. The Algonquian numerals offer a great many difficulties, which I am unable to solve, having only such slight materials at my disposal as are accessible to a student in Europe.

Bl. *nókós* my child, *ókós* his child; Oj. *nīngwīss* (*nīngwīssis*) my son, *ogwīssan* his son; Cree *nikosis* my son, *okosissa* his son; Men. *nikis* my son, Fox *neguw<sup>i</sup>* my son, *úgwīssān<sup>i</sup>* his son; Del *n'kwēesé* my son; Mic. *n'kwīs* my son.

Bl. *nomisau* my wood, *komisau* thy wood; cf. Oj. *miši* piece of wood for fuel, *missan* (inanimate plural) wood for fuel; Ar. *bāb* wood.

Bl. *o-*, *ot-*, prefix of the 3 pers. sing. plur.; cf. Oj. *o-*, *od-*, *w-*; Cree *o-*, *ot-*, *w-*, etc.

Bl. *oáu* egg; Oj. *wāwan*; Cree *wāwū*; Nat. *wóúu* egg.

Bl. *oʒkín* bone (his bone), *noʒkín* my bone; Oj. *nikān* my bone, *okān* his bone; Cree *niskān* my bone, *oskān* bone (his bone); Nat. *nuskon* bone, *wuskon* his bone.

Bl. *oʒtoʒkoʒsiu* is sick, is ill; Oj. *akosi*; Cree *akusiw* is sick, is ill. Bl. *oʒtoʒkoʒsi-* seems to contain a prefix *oʒt-* (= *ixt-*, *oʒt-*).

Bl. *ómá* (animate), *ómi* (inanimate and obviative animate) that; Oj. *oma* here; Cree *oma* (inanimate) this. Cf. also Oj. *mi so*, it is so.

Bl. *omaʒk-* big; Oj. *mitši-* large; Cree *misi-* much; Fox *meci-* large; Mic. *mešk-* large.

Bl. *pək-* to burst ; Oj. *pak-* to open, to break ; Cree *pāsk-* to open, to burst.

Bl. *pāksāsis* stone-hammer, *piks-* to hammer ; cf. Oj. *pakitē-* to strike, *pakiteigan* hammer ; Cree *paka-* to strike, *pakamāgan* hammer ; Fox *pəg-* to strike against something.

Bl. *papisīm* shouts, yells ; Oj. *bāpi-* ; Cree *pāpiw* laughs.

Bl. *pi-* (*ipi-*) to enter ; Oj. *pinde* it is in, *pin-dig*, *pinđž* in, *nin-pindige* I enter ; Cree *pits-* in, *pittukew* enters ; Fox *pi(t)-* into, *pitigāw<sup>a</sup>* enters ; Nat. *petutteau* he entered, *petau* he puts it in (into), *petukau* goes in (into).

Bl. *pi-* far, *piuó* (*pioó*) is far, *pioóyt* far ; Oj. *pitsa* long, distant, far ; Cree *pitsaw* far, *pitsiw* moves camp to a distant place, *pitt-* long, far ; Fox *pyāw<sup>a</sup>* a long while ago.

Bl. *pikst(ua)* big bird ; Nat. *psukses* (from *\*pissukses* or *\*pussukses*) little bird.

Bl. *pinap-* (*-inap-*), *pināporjtsi* down the river ; cf. Mic. *papkeg* down the river. Not very clear.

Bl. *-poko* having a certain taste ; Oj. *-pogwad*, *-pogosi* ; Cree *-spokwan*, *-spokusiw* has a certain taste.

Bl. *pomts* fat ; Oj. *bimide* ; Cree *pimi* ; Del. *pomi* fat.

Bl. *ponokáu(a)*, *-nok-* elk ; Ar. *nakíwuw* moose.

Bl. *pota-* to make fire, *potáni* camp-fire ; Oj. *bōdawe* makes fire ; Fox *pe'tawā-* to kindle a fire.

Bl. *sakakimmiu* loves him ; Oj. *sag-* ; Cree *sāk-* to love.

Bl. *sāksiu* goes out, *sak-* out ; Oj. *sāgaam* goes out.

Bl. *səyk-* short ; Oj. *tak-* short ; Fox *tcági* small.

Bl. *siekaii(ua)* mink ; Men. *səqke* mink.

Bl. *sik-* black, *siksinám* (animate), *siksinátsiu* (inanimate) is black, Unami *süksit* black ; Nat. *sucki* dark-colored, black, *suckésu* (animate) is black.

Bl. *sipi-* (*sepi-*) during the night ; Oj. *tibik*, *tibikad* ; Cree *tibisk*, *tibiskaw* ; Men. *tipáq*, *tobáq* night.

Bl. *sok-* straight, suddenly, aloud ; Cree *soki* very, very much, loud. Cf. above s. v. *isok-*.

Bl. *sptnakiu* lifts up, *sptniu* lifts him up, *sptnim* lifts it up ; Oj. *nind-ispina* I lift him up, *nind-ispinan* I lift it up ; Nat. *ushpunum* holds or lifts it up. Cf. the following group.

Bl. *spi-* (*sp-*) high, *spójttsi*, *spójttyk*, *spójtm* on high ; Oj. *ispi-* ; Cree *ispi-*, *ispa-* ; Men. *ispe-* high ; Oj. *ispiming* ; Cree *ispimik* ; Men. *ispā-miya*, Shawnee *spemegi* ; Peoria *pāmingi* ; Fox *a'penegi* above ; Abn. *spemk* ; Passam. *spemek* high ; Penobscot *spumki* heaven.

Bl. *táa*, *taid*, *tamá* which (animate), *taká* who ; Cree *tána* ; Fox *tán<sup>a</sup>* which (animate) ; Fox *táni* which (inanimate), Mic. *tan* (animate) ; *tan* (inanimate) interrogative and relative pronoun and adverb, *taš* how much (how many), *tān* when (speaking of the past), *tanuk* when (speaking of the future), *tali* how.

## HAVASUPAI (YUMAN) TEXTS

BY LESLIE SPIER.

The Havasupai of Cataract Canyon, Arizona, are the most easterly Yuman speaking group. These texts in their language were obtained incidentally during a field trip for the Southwest Society of New York in 1921. The first was told by Sinyella, the second by Mark Hanna; both were corrected and translated by Jess Checkapanyega. Due to my interpreter's imperfect command of English, I am uncertain at some points of the tense, and even occasionally of the sense. It is offered only because there is little Havasupai material in print. Other versions of the stories were recorded.

The phonetic scheme is as follows :

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| a | as in father |
| ä | hat          |
| e | fate         |
| i | pique        |
| o | note         |
| u | rule         |
| a | bur          |
| ë | met          |
| i | pin          |
| ö | not          |
| ü | put          |
| ω | law          |
| g | velar g      |

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" <sup>1</sup>. K<sup>r</sup> probably corresponds to ʈ (cerebral t) but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Some

1. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, v. 66, n° 6, 1916.

words are given with several spellings; the differences may be significant. Primary and secondary accents were not disguised in recording the text. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided.

## WOLF'S BOY

hatagwilahadj ku'da apai'itig θöknué'viga  
Wolf long ago was a man. He was living

hawil wi'agwa' n,awe'vig n,aluwa' pe'mig  
mountain camp. "My wife I lack.

asi'taθig vökwa'θam ha'nataopiga pak'i'  
Alone being not good. Woman

aluwe' vama vakwök gwenawi'dam ama'haga  
married stay something to eat cook.

asi'taθig vagwa'θig gwenawi'dig  
Alone I stay something to cook

asapo'taöpig iya'mög säsavas'ha  
I don't know. I went (a small piñon bird)

vadjai'a asi'tam iyo' iya'mig iyu'g säsavas'ha  
daughters one to get. I went many times  
Piñon Bird's

n,awa'ha va'mög pak'i'asi'taθam aiyök  
house women one I get

aluwe'higa pak'i'hidj o'paga ya'mayi'taöpag  
for a wife. Woman not want to come.

e maopigmimo'me avo'mhig'iu  
Yes, if one don't want to go I return."

hatagwilahädj vögüg yug hatagwilaha  
Wolf returned. Wolf

n<sub>1</sub>in<sub>1</sub>awa'ha n<sub>1</sub>iva'g kavayū'm  
his house arrived. "I wonder why  
sāsavaṣo'ha vidjai'ahēdj inya'akokny-  
Piñon Bird's daughters me no  
aaha'notəo'pig i'mo'i wa'asi'vag vakwō'g  
good say. Thinking of it stay.  
hawai'avidj vag'yū'm halagata'pa  
Pool I know where abalone shell  
valdjawū'g halagata'pa aha'vil muwa'  
put in. Abalone shell water leave in.  
tawai'ə təo'pitig miya'apē'  
Not very long appear to be alive.  
apa'n<sub>1</sub>amavaluwi'hagwigi'i asitasma'm  
It will be alive like a man. After one sleep  
ava'hēg'iu hatagwi'la va'mōg hawai'a  
I will return. " When Wolf got to the pool  
va'mōg halagata'pa ug k'e'djam apa'n<sub>1</sub>-  
abalone he looked at. A little it looked  
avaluwi'g u'θam yu'ig  
like a man. When he looked appeared  
ha'nag valuwō'g halagata'pa itcawo'widj  
good inside. Abalone where he left it  
maha'na miya'i'wigmiu towai'a təo'pitig  
good progressing. " Not very long  
inya' apa'va mavaluwi'miya'i'wigmiu  
like me a man it will appear.  
sasavaṣo' vidjai'ahēg madj miya'mahigmiu  
Piñon Bird's daughters you go over."  
hatagwila yōg θō'kdjəwō'g djaθu'lūg  
Wolf took it from there washed  
paiama'tvaya'aha'nōg wi'vidjōkəvati'm  
all over the skin good. Rock hole  
valdjawō'g taō'mōg kəθōdhēdj'  
place inside close with something. Coyote

1. The *o* has deep pitch.

ya'mōg hama'n'a yūga pa'pūg  
went. Child he took. Carrying it on his  
back  
vo'gūg awa'hag vag n<sub>1</sub>iva'm hatagwi'lahēdj  
he arrived at the When they Wolf  
house. arrived,  
ug kəθōdhedj<sup>1</sup> ig in<sub>1</sub>a'home'vidju  
looked. Coyote said, "This is my son."  
hatagwi'lahēdj gwawūg o'pa kəθōd'  
Wolf spoke, "No, Coyote,  
mohome'vadju'ta tu'yəvidju in<sub>1</sub>a'a  
that is not your son, not at all. Mine  
hatagwi'lava homē'vidju magaθō'dnyēdj<sup>1</sup> madj  
Wolf's son. You, Coyote, you  
midjaθu'lig mi'a'ha'na hatagwi'la gwa'wūg  
wash him good". Wolf spoke,  
in<sub>1</sub>ahomē'vidj ya'mūg sāsavaṣo'ha vadjai'aha  
"My son is going Piñon Bird's daughters  
asi'tam yo'mihigui yo'mam vōkwō'g  
one to fetch. Fetch to stay here  
teya'djta'g sūmkwi'nam ama'dja  
grinding corn, stirring it, we will eat it.  
ma miya'ma sāsavaṣo vidjai'aha miyū'g  
Now, go, Piñon Bird's daughters get,  
n<sub>1</sub>a'aluwa'mi halagata'pa apa'ig  
say 'You be my wife' " Abalone was man  
aha'niga hatagwi'la homē' ka'umē'ē ma  
real. Wolf's son was Kaume. "Now,  
miya'ma sasavaṣo'han,awa'ha mava'ma  
go. Piñon Bird's house go.  
mava'mōg mau' sāsavaṣo'ha vadjē'hidj  
Go there to look. Piñon Bird's daughter  
makaumē'mē'nyə n<sub>1</sub>ima aha'nogaθo  
you, Kaume, likes, when she likes you  
in<sub>1</sub>aluwa' mi'hig'mi va'mam  
'My wife, you say.' When you arrive



n<sub>3</sub>i'u'giθa pak'i'hidj kaum'e'nyā n<sub>3</sub>imu'gaθa  
she will see woman Kaume see,  
you

e n<sub>3</sub>ama'aha'nogaθa ya'mahig  
'Yes, I feel well disposed to want to go.'

pak'u'yavidj hawō'gig iya'midja kaum'e'  
Women two will go to be Kaume's

luwa'vidj apa'va aha'nidjog'iu aha'nigiu  
wives. Man both like, 'Good,

iya'mdji'hig'iu hatagwi'la hom'e'vidj  
let us go together." Wolf's son

sāsavaśo'ha vidjai'a hawō'gam yūg.  
Piñon Bird's daughters two took'

sāsavaśohidj gwa'wūg ma'apa'vidj kaum'e'  
Piñon Bird spoke, "Our men with

nyūm mat'e'namō'gova te'nama'govūg  
Kaume will run races. Run races with him

mamō'didja ma paat'e'θig pa'ya ma'hig'i  
for his stakes. Now, many men all everyone

iya'mig'iūg kaum'e'hēdj asi'taθig mata'vūg  
should go." Kaume alone north

teya'vūg ya'mūg yu'ūg'i kaum'e'va  
that way went did. Kaume

n<sub>3</sub>amō'gadjiḡa yā'djmiga ya'mūg viyū'ē  
many run ahead kept going this way

n<sub>3</sub>ato'povaga satu'lūg sāsavaśo'hidj ha'nūg  
sunset place west. Piñon Bird looked :

pagatau'a in<sub>3</sub>an<sub>3</sub>awe'widj wi'hilau'a  
"Our men, my relatives Moon Mountain

hopa'dja toka'vagūg θiyu'idjig kaum'e'widj  
four times around turn back." Kaume

kavayū'g e'vīg yu'gyum'yu  
looked weak they look as he went far.

θeyu'wi'θag kaum'e'wa n<sub>3</sub>ama'gadjiḡ  
He was coming Kaume they were beating

θiyu'g kaum'e'widj yuata'mūgiu  
him one coming. Kaume he was returning

wihalau'a hopa'dja ṡaka'vōgūg  
Moon Mountain four times round

yuita'migiū kaum'e'widj yu'ig pagaha'-  
returning. Kaume come back about

vōgta'mōgui swa'dōg kat'e'nama'-  
to get to many men, he sang, "Many foot

govādidj paḡhami'lādj maḡvayō'mōga  
racers 'Brother-in-law, keep running'

yavami'djiḡ miyu'ta kamayu'djiḡmiu'  
say to one another do not say at all.

in<sub>3</sub>a'itcika'vōdj maḡvaya'moga miyu'ta kavayū'-  
My cousins are running they do

g'miu inyakaum'e'vidj iya'mag aha'  
not run fast. I, Kaume, to go fetch water

gwema'va aḡana'vam apa'magōvgau'widj  
food will tell them. Fetch to meet the men

gidjōvgau'va gina've gaḡe' ya'migiug  
lots of food I will tell them. Ball go

sāsavaśoha in<sub>3</sub>awa'ha aḡa'maḡ'iuḡ  
Piñon Bird's house I will get there.

pak'u'ya hawō'gam sāsavaśo' vidjai'a  
Women two Piñon Bird's daughter

yug aḡwe'inya'djaka'vahi'g'wi ḡwa'ga  
come. I will put up as stakes buckskins

kavūg no'hovūg sāsavaśo' homai'a  
wager hiding game Piñon Bird's sons

vidjai'a in<sub>3</sub>a'tak'ipam sāsavaśo'ha vidjai'a  
daughters at night." Piñon Bird's daughters

kaum'e'hēdj pama'diga aḡwa'ga aḡwe  
Kaume won. "Buckskin various things

pa'ya in<sub>3</sub>yadja'pa'ma'da sāsavaśo'ha  
everything I, from the men, win." Piñon

Bird said,

aḡwe' ḡwi'inya'dja ḡwa'ga maga'vūg  
"Anything blankets buckskin show as  
stakes

mətō'covə ta'çavəta'mōθig wi'θig  
play at shinney". Playing shinney trying  
kaumē'hédj pai'ya pama'tig sāsavašə'hidj  
Kaume all won. Piñon Bird

gana'vūg'ig mədu'dōva  
told them to play hoop and pole game.

ma mui'dja kaumē'nidj kaviyu'tavog  
Let us do it. Kaume looks like a good  
player

gwi'mowi pai'ya pama'tig  
going to do it. From everyone won all,

kaumē'hédj pama'tig kaumē'hédj sāsavašəha  
Kaume won all. Kaume, Piñon Bird's

vidjai'a huw'ogam yūg va'mūgiu  
daughters two taking, arrived.

n,iya'mūm pak'u'ya'vidj pai'ya atē'ka  
While going women all many

ya'djminyiga sāsavašə'hidj gwau'ig'i  
followed. Piñon Bird spoke,

pagətau'a inyəwə'widj ma miya'djmig  
"Men, run faster my own. Let us go

kaumē'ha mağaha'vūg mağawa'nidja  
Kaume catch up with kill him."

kaumē'ha gia'θig kōkdjina'lidja'əp'ig  
Kaume shot at did not hit him.

pak'u'yiva hapi'da paiya pa'gidjmuwa'  
Women only all kill humans

djidjigwi kaumē'hédj swa'dig paiya'apai'-  
repeatedly. Kaume sang, "Unnatural

ya aha'novidj iyu'tē hatəgwi'lahédj  
birth not good myself. Wolf

paiya'apai'ya aha'na n,iyə'vəvidj iyu'tē  
unnatural birth not good make me myself.

kōkyu'təg ya'ətu'vūg əmədjai'iga əθu'-  
I am not thirsty hungry feeling

inyəvūm mağawa'nidja miyi'təu'mami'i  
weak they cannot kill me can never do it.

məvau'djimə əma'nama'gidjim iya'-  
Many going back let me alone, I will

məhi'giu vəkō'k iyu'tig igia'ga idja'məhi'g  
go." He was doing it he shot hitting

wi'higwig'itə pai'ya panyəgama'wa'djig  
every time. All men he killed

panyəwi'dihig'iwitə tōtgwa'nig atē'k  
completely. He killed them many

pu'yig wigwi'tig inya'hōt  
immobily dispersed. While he sunset  
did this,

təpi'higu yu'hidj apa'atig θə'kva'g  
sank behind. Owl, who was like there  
a man,

va'θəm kaumē'hédj o'pūg'igig kamiyu'hūg  
arrived. Kaume said, "No, no, why

məva'g miu'momiu yu'təg mağawa'-  
do you come here?" Perhaps someone

nidjahimi yu'hidj gwau'ig pa'əgya'-  
will kill you." Owl said, "I am going to

hōg'iu tu'ya vəvəte'yəmiu'djig  
shoot someone." Nothing fluffed his feathers.

sāsavašə'ha homai'ya iyu'ha kya'θig  
Piñon Bird's sons at owl shooting

vōmvətu'mu'iga kəssə'k ka'ka'ka' gwē'-  
grazed him. Crow said, "Ka, ka, ka, what

miyu'djinūgmiu n,imiyo'djiθəm miyu'təg  
are you doing? If that is what

you do,

apa'manne'hidj'djihig'wi əpakya'hōgyugi'i  
men killing you. I know which man  
I will shoot.

miya'vōg yug əpakya'gwi  
From the air I come shooting men."

sāsavašə' homai'a kəssə'ka kya'k ne'hidjiga  
Piñon Bird's sons Crow shoot killing.

inyəto'pōkigiū inya'tək'ē pigiu kaumē'hidj  
The sun had set a little dark Kaume

gwau'ig apa'yu' matahai'a amatinya'dja  
said, "You Owl of the wind sand  
man, black

agisima'vidj iyu'mamigmi'nya vaswa'-  
are a shaman, that is what you said. Tear

vami'wa inya'tak'i'pa kaum'e'hidj  
some off and make it dark." Kaume,

yu'hum pak'u'yavidj hawo'ga ya'mug  
Owl, and women two going

hatagwi'laha n,awa'ha nava'mog pak'u'ya  
Wolf's house arrived.

hawo'ga wa'ha va'migi u pak'u'ya  
House he arrived women

hawo'gam wa'ha pagami'migwi n,ahami'djima  
two house bringing. "My relatives,

ha'nigi u pak'u'ya hawo'gam miyu'g mavam  
good women two he took arrived

ha'nigi u adiy'e'giu teya'dj tag  
all right I am glad. Corn you grind,

sunkwi'nidjima mag ha'nigi u ig'i'i  
stir it, and eat it; it is good; I say it."

kwa'ga n,ig ne'hog hage'g  
Deer they hunted, caught it, carried it  
on the back,

vokvami'nvai'g'ig kwa'gamat matau'lam  
and dropped the load. "Venison we will boil

ama'dja hatagwi'lahedj luwa'ape'mig'iu  
and eat it." Wolf had no wife

tu'asi'tahig'iu kaum'e'widj pak'u'ya hawo'gam  
entirely alone. "Kaume, women two

muwi'djig asi'tam ama'e'nya asi'tahig  
you have, one give to me, Alone

vokwa'ham aha'natao'piga gweinyi'nig  
to stay here is not good; something to  
fornicate

wa'laiyi'gyugi'i kaum'e'hidj gwau'-  
I like to do", he said. Kaume did not

wugt'ao'pig vak'o'k pakti'va asi'tam  
speak: refuse woman one,

n,ae'gwa'layi'tao'pig kaumehidj waiya'alai'g  
he felt he would not. Kaume angry

wiya'migi u vak'o'kvahatao'piga sma'mug  
went away. He did not return for many

sma'mug sma'migi u n,iva'g asi'tinyasma'g  
sleeps. After(?) one sleep

hatagwi'lahidj gwau'ig home'widj vat'ao'-  
Wolf said, "My son does no

pi gi u iya'mug inya'dj ahaatagwi'lovidj  
return. I am going, I, Wolf,

iya'mag aam'djigaha'me kaum'e'e  
am going to walk about to Kaume's  
look around."

yu'woha misi'k n,iya'mag yu'tam  
tracks he followed. The erstwhile

kaum'e'hedj amuti'wugiu hatagwi'lahedj  
Kaume, had become a Wolf  
mountain sheep.

yu'tag ug vama'dji'wug kwa'va  
saw him and seized him. Horns

yilhu'yilhu'yig wiwi'mug ma  
he pulled off and cast away. "Now,

kaum'e'e vo'midja kamiyu'g vokmaa'-  
Kaume, come with me. Why do you

mdjig maiyum'niu aha'natao'pig'iu ma  
wander you? That is not good, let

avo'midja va'midjig wa'ha n,aluwa  
us go." They reached the house. "My wife

aha'nigi u pak'u'yadj kaum'e'e vokmuwo'm  
all right woman. Kaume, you stay  
with us

aha'na  
all right."

\*\*\*\*\*

## WOLF'S BOY.

Long ago Wolf was a man. He was living at his mountain home. "I have no wife", he said. "Living alone is not good. I want to marry a woman who will stay here and cook something to eat. I stay here alone : I do not know how to cook. I will go to get one of Piñon Bird's daughters. I will go repeatedly to Piñon Bird's house. I want to get one of the women for a wife. The women did not want to come with me. 'Yes, if one does not want to go with me, I will return.'" Wolf returned. Wolf arrived at his house. "I wonder why Piñon Bird's daughters say I am no good. I will stay here and think about it. I know where there is a pool in which I can put abalone shell. I will leave the abalone shell in the water. In a short time it will appear to be alive. It will be alive like a man. I will return after one sleep". When Wolf reached the pool he looked at the abalone. It looked a little like a man. When he looked it appeared good as it lay in the pool. The abalone was progressing where he had left it. "In a short time it will resemble a man like myself. You will go over to Piñon Bird's daughters", he said. Wolf took it from there and washed the skin well all over. He put it in a cave which he closed. Coyote went there. He took the child. Carrying it on his back, he arrived at the house. When they arrived, Wolf looked at them. Coyote said, "This is my son". Wolf said, "No, Coyote, that is not your son at all. It is mine, Wolf's son. You, Coyote, you wash him well". Wolf said, "My son is going to fetch one of Piñon Bird's daughters. He will fetch one to stay here grinding corn and mixing it for us to eat. Now, go, get one of Piñon Bird's daughters, saying, 'Be my wife'". The Abalone shell was now a real man. Wolf's son was named Kaume. "Now go ; go to Piñon Bird's house. Go there to look. You,

Kaume, if Piñon Bird's daughter likes you, call her 'my wife'. When you arrive, Kaume, the woman will see you, and say, 'Yes, I feel well disposed to go with you'. Two women will go as Kaume's wives. If both like the man, they will say, 'Good, let us go together'". Wolf's son took two of Piñon Bird's daughters. Piñon Bird spoke, "Our men will run races with Kaume. Run races with him for his stakes. Now all the men, everyone should go". Kaume went alone to the north. Many kept running ahead of Kaume this way toward the place where the sun sets, the west. Piñon Bird looked (and sang), "Our men, my relatives, are turning back after four circuits of Moon Mountain". They looked at Kaume who seemed weak as he ran far off. They were ahead of Kaume as he came alone. Kaume was returning after four circuits of Moon Mountain. When Kaume had nearly reached the many men on his return, he sang, "Many racers say, 'Keep going, brother-in-law', to each other, but now they do not say it at all. My cousins are running, but they do not run fast. I, Kaume, will go to tell them to fetch water and food. I will tell them to bring an abundance of food. I will get to Piñon Bird's house while kicking the ball. Two women, Piñon Bird's daughters, will come. I will wager buckskins against Piñon Bird's sons and daughters at the hiding game at night". Kaume won from Piñon Bird's daughters, "I shall win buckskins and all sorts of things from the men". Piñon Bird said, "Anything, blankets or buckskins, may be wagered when you play shinny". Kaume tried and won everything playing shinny. Piñon Bird told them to play the hoop and pole game. "Let us do it. You, Kaume, look like a good player". Kaume won everything from all the others. Kaume, taking two of Piñon Bird's daughters, arrived there. As he went off, all the women, a great many, followed him. Piñon Bird spoke, "My own men, run faster than he. Let us go,

catch u  
at Kau  
killing  
no good  
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catch up with Kaume and kill him". They shot at Kaume but did not hit him. All they kept killing were the women. Kaume sang, "I am no good, because I am unnaturally born. Wolf did not create me properly by that unnatural birth. They can never kill me by weakening me by thirst and hunger. They are returning and leaving me ; I will go". He shot and hit every time. He killed them everyone. He killed many who lay scattered stiff everywhere. The sun sank while he did this. Owl, who was a man, arrived there. Kaume said, "No, no, why do you come here ? Perhaps some one will kill you". Owl said, "I am going to shoot someone". He fluffed his feathers with empty spaces between. Piñon Bird's sons shot and grazed Owl. Crow said, "Ka, ka, ka, what are you doing ? If that is what you do, you will be killed. I know which man I will shoot. I am coming down shooting at the man". Piñon Bird's sons shot killing Crow. When it was a little dark after sunset. Kaume said, "Owl, you said you were a wind- and black-sand shaman. Tear off some (of the black sand) and make it dark". Kaume, Owl, and the two women arrived at Wolf's house. He arrived at the house bringing the two women. (Wolf said to the women), "I am glad he took you two women and arrived, my relatives. Grind corn, stir it, and eat it ; it is good, I say". They hunted deer, caught one, packed it home on the back, and let the load drop. "We will boil venison and eat it". Wolf had no wife ; he lived quite alone. "Kaume, you have two women ; give me one. It is not good to stay here alone ; I would like something to fornicate", he said. Kaume did not speak : he felt that he would refuse to give him a woman. Kaume went away angry. He did not return for many nights. After one night Wolf said, "My son does not return. I, Wolf, am going to travel about in search of him". He followed the tracks of the erstwhile Kaume who had become a mountain sheep. Wolf saw

him and seized him. He pulled the horns off and threw them away. "Now, Kaume, come with me. Why do you wander about : that is not good : let us return". They reached the house. "My wife, woman, it is all right(?) Kaume, you stay with us : it is all right".

## BUNGLING HOST.

|        |                     |                              |
|--------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Aqwaga | θöknu'e'vagu'idjiga | θaunudigu'-                  |
| Deer   | her residence       | offspring,                   |
|        | idjigi              | yum kaθödhëdj' θiu'idjiga    |
|        | spotted, seen       | and then male coyote yonder, |
|        | coming              | approaching                  |

θag vagiu'ga Qwagaθau nudig hanata'-  
there come here. "Fawns spotted very  
vam nyiu'ga Gamowim nu'digiu  
good looks. How did you make spotted ?

Nya'aθaua gagaha'ndjaeta'o'bimanya'ai'mig.  
My offspring not very good, I say."

Gwiθavadi'aväl nyä'äpük. Ahuwa'ig  
"Small cave put them in. The smoke enters  
nyä'äwi'm nu'digia. E ha'nigiu nya'avo'magitha  
I do it spotted. Yes, good I return

wi'higui hopa'djin,isma'githau mia'-  
I will smoke them four sleeps come  
migima'u. Miäha'niki'igi'i. Hopa'djin,isma'm  
over to see". "Do it properly", Four sleeps  
he (she ?) said.

yamigiu'ig'i. Kaθöðäua<sup>2</sup> gwiθavadi'aväl  
she goes. Coyote whelps little cave

|      |              |                   |
|------|--------------|-------------------|
| püg  | huai'igwi'gi | huaiampu'igiu'iga |
| put  | in smoke     | suffocate them,   |
| them | many of them | they (he?) said.  |

Paiapëmgü'iga Vämbö'ö'kiu  
All gone, they (he ?) said. That is all to tell.

1. The ö has deep pitch.

2. The ö has deep pitch, the ä high pitch.

## BUNGLING HOST.

Deer had spotted fawns at her home and Coyote came there. "Your spotted fawns look very nice", he said. "How did you make them spotted? My whelps are not very good, I say". — "I put them in a small cave. (I built a fire at the entrance, so that) the smoke entered (their mouths and nostrils), and made them spotted". — "Yes, good: I will return to

my home. I will try smoking them. Come over to my house to see them after four sleeps". Deer admonished, "Do it properly". After four sleeps had elapsed, Deer went to visit Coyote. Coyote said, "I put my whelps in the little cave to smoke them, but they suffocated. They were completely consumed". That is all to tell.

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Seattle.

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## A REVISED LIST OF KWAKIUTL SUFFIXES

BY FRANZ BOAS

In the Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, pages 456 et seq., I have given a list of Kwakiutl suffixes. Since the publication of this list in 1911 a considerable amount of additional material has come to light, and I give the following revised list.

Kwakiutl suffixes are either added to the stem or to the complete word. This is indicated in the following list by the words "stem-s." and "word-s." Most of the suffixes have no effect upon the terminal sound of the stem, except such as are required by the phonetic laws of the language. Some lose their initial sound, and this has been indicated by placing the corresponding letter in parentheses. Others change the terminal voiceless consonant to a voiced consonant, which is indicated by = preceding the suffix. Others glottalize the terminal sound, which is indicated by ! preceding the suffix. The numbers and pages in parentheses following the numbers of the suffixes refer to the list as given in my earlier publication.

Information in regard to methods of reduplication and other forms of stem expansion, and details in regard to the effects of the suffixes upon the stem, will be found in the same place.

On account of the lack of the symbol *g* with subscribed dot, *g*. has been used.

For the purpose of comparison the suffixes in the Bella Bella dialect are given. These are indicated by the letter H. (Heitdzaq<sup>n</sup>, the proper name of the tribe, means "speaking correctly".) When the corresponding Bella

Bella or Kwakiutl suffix is not given, it has not been found even on inquiry. References marked R refer to RBAE 35.

1. (1, p. 456) *-a* [STEM-S.], terminal suffix of most continuative verbs; dropped before most other suffixes.
2. (2, p. 456) *-d-*, in terminal position *t* [STEM-S.], terminal suffix of inchoative verbs.
3. (3, p. 458) *-(x)sá*, THROUGH [STEM-S.] < *xsiina*); H. *-x'siw(a)*  
*batsá'la*, to breathe through (*has-[x]-sá-la*) R 299. 57
4. (4, p. 458) *-(x')s<sup>2</sup>*, ACROSS, IN PIECES [STEM-S.]; H. *-si'syia*  
*ma'sts!E*, divided in two parts  
*yú'dux<sup>2</sup>ts!E*, divided in three parts  
*neqá'x's<sup>2</sup>E*, divided in ten parts
5. (5, p. 458) *-i'slá(la)*, ABOUT [STEM-S.] < *-i'sliala*), often with expansion of stem; H. *-a'sniala*. In one case the suffix weakens the stem.  
*édis'lála* (trail) turns to and fro.
6. *-ax'sala* H. ABOUT [STEM-S.]
7. (6, p. 458) *-é'st(a)*; after *k*, *l* sounds, *s*, *p*: *-s<sup>2</sup>st(a)*, AROUND [STEM-S.]: H. *-ist(a)*, *-sist(a)*
8. (7, p. 459) *-!qela*; *-!g.é<sup>2</sup>*, AMONG [STEM-S.]  
*sió'sqúla*, to paddle among continually (*séx<sup>u</sup>-qe-la*)<sup>1</sup>  
*sió'sg.was<sup>2</sup>yn*, I paddle among (*séx<sup>u</sup>-g.é<sup>2</sup>-n*)

1. The stem is *séx<sup>u</sup>* - not *séx<sup>n</sup>* as erroneously given. *-x<sup>n</sup>* hardened and weakened seems to change regularly to *oó*.

- náqlaqela*, to have a song leader among  
*náqlag'ē*, song leader
- All the forms given on p. 459 as ending in *-g.a* should be changed to = *g.ē*
9. (8, p. 459) *-(k')á*, *-(k')aw(ē)*, BETWEEN [STEM-S.]; with expansion of stem.
10. H. *-(x')ts!esaw(a)*, BETWEEN
11. (9, p. 460) *-aq(a)*, TO MOVE IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION, TO GO PAST [STEM-S.]; with expansion of stem.  
*g.wāg.wa'yaaga*, to turn towards  
*aēdaaqa*, to go back  
 are derived from the tentative forms *g.wā'g.wa'ya* and *aēdaa* (see no. 152)
12. (10, p. 460) *-x's(a)*, AWAY FROM [STEM-S.]; with expansion of stem. The example *ha'nx'sent* should read *ha'nx's'ent* and belongs under no. 4.
13. H. *-yax'tsli* AWAY FROM [STEM-S.]
14. *-ōs*, FROM ONE TO THE OTHER [STEM-S.]  
*tsā'yōs*, to dip from one bucket into another  
*lōs*, to go from one to the other  
*dōs*, to take from one to the other
15. (25, p. 465) *-awil*, ACROSS [STEM-S.]. This suffix contains the element *-il*, ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, although it is used as an equivalent for ACROSS without relation to place. In Bella Bella we find *-awis*, across on the ground, *-awilāla*, across on rocks. The first part of the suffix may be identical with the preceding, provided *-ōs* may be explained as containing *-s*, on the ground; H. *-aw(isla)*, *-aw(illa)*, *-aw(īlāla)*.  
*gelqa'wisēla*, to swim across outside.
16. (11, p. 460) *-ēm*, NEAR BY [STEM-S.]; always found with another locative element, as *-s*, ON THE GROUND; *-il*, IN THE HOUSE, etc.
17. (12, p. 461) *-(k')lōt*, OPPOSITE [STEM-S.]. Loses *k'!* after *s*. The terminal *t* changes to *t* before *ts*. In *g.Em'xōt*, LEFT SIDE (from *g.Em'x-*), the *k'* drops out.
18. (13, p. 461) *-ag.awē*, *-ag.aud-*, EXTREME [STEM-S.]  
*aw'lag.awē*, most important  
*ēk'!ag.awē*, farthest above, X, 179. 32.  
*l!ā'sag.aud*, to put farthest-seaward
19. (14, p. 461) *-lxsā-* BEHIND, HIND END, TAIL END [STEM-S.]; H. *-lxd*
20. (15, p. 461) *-lxl(a)*, HIND END, BOTTOM, STERN [STEM-S.]; H. *-lxl(a)*. Especially also AFTERWARDS, FOLLOWING.  
*g.wā'l!exlā'la* to groan afterwards  
 X 5.11  
*lē'g.Emg'ilxlāla*, name follows (i. e. is given as marriage present)
21. (16, p. 462) = *ōyō*. MIDDLE [STEM-S.]
22. (17, p. 462) = *nō*, = *nus* (*-nus*), *-nul*, SIDE [STEM-S.]; also *-no* [word-s.]  
 = *nō*, side of a round thing  
*ō'nā'yē*, side of a round thing  
*-nōs*, side of a long thing  
*ō'nodzē*, side of a long thing.
23. (18, p. 463) = *nēq* (*-nēq?*) CORNER [STEM-S.]
24. (19, p. 463) *-āx(a)* DOWN [STEM-S.]  
 With *-ayu* (no. 260) it forms *-axō'yu*; inchoative form *-axaud*
25. (20, p. 463) *-g'ustā*, UP [STEM-S.] (from *-gustwa*); H. *-gustiwa*
26. (10 a; p. 460) *-yag'(a)*, *-yag'(ila)*, BACK INTO THE WOODS [STEM-S.]  
 The interpretation given on p. 460 is not correct.  
*lā'yag'a*, to go into the woods. XI 86. 18; C50. 5  
*tō'yag'a*, to go into the woods, with the specific meaning to commit suicide.  
*hōx'yag'a*, to go into the woods, pl. X 190.12  
*oxlā'yag'ila* to carry on back into the woods



- With *-it*, (ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE), FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE HOUSE INTO THE BEDROOMS.  
*lā'eyak'ilil*, to enter the bedroom III  
 386.11
27. *-(x)sak'* INTO THE WOODS [STEM-S.]; evidently *-(x)s'* and the preceding; H. *-xs'ey* (*ils*); *-x's'ij(ēla)*  
*qātslak'*, to walk into the woods  
*ō'xLaxs'ak'* to carry on back into woods  
*lāxs'sak'*, *lāxs'ak'ila*, to go into the woods  
 In *dxē'lx's'ak'*, to run into woods, the suffix is indefinite in its influence upon the stem.
28. (21, p. 464) *-nts'ēs*, DOWN TO BEACH [STEM-S.]; H. *-nts'ES*
29. (22, p. 464) *-ēusdēs*, UP FROM BEACH [STEM-S.]; probably *-ēust*, no. 33, and *=ēs*, ON BEACH, no. 62; *-g'ustā*, no. 25, may be related. H. *-sausdīs*.
30. (22a, p. 464) *=(x)tla*, OUT TO SEA [STEM-S.]; H. *-xtla*  
*lāg.utlā'ta*, to hold pushed out to sea
31. H. *-uya(la)* OUT OF INLET [STEM-S.]
32. (23, p. 464) *-atūs*; = *āttūs*, DOWN RIVER [STEM-S.]; H. *-atus(la)*  
*sēxwatūsela*, better than *sēwūtūsela*, to paddle down river.
33. (24, p. 464) *-ēust(a)*, UP RIVER [STEM-S.]
34. H. = *alis(la)* UP RIVER [STEM-S.]
35. (26, p. 465) = *ns(a)*, UNDER WATER [STEM-S.] Relation to *-nts'ēs*, (no. 28), DOWN TO BEACH, doubtful; H. *-nts(a)*
36. *-(x')SEXLA*, ACROSS A HILL [STEM-S.], derived from no. 37; H. *-sxl(a)* ACROSS LAND  
*qā'sEXLA*, to walk across a hill  
*hē'x'SEXLA*, right across the hill  
*lā'x'SEXLA*, to go across a hill  
*nāSEXLA*, to go across a mountain  
 (Nā'k!wax'da'sx")
37. *-SEQla*, OVER, ACROSS [STEM-S.]; perhaps *-(x')SEQla*. As in *-a'wit*, (no. 15), the suffix *-it*, ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, has become purely formal, it may be that here *-a*, ON A ROCK, (no. 60) has become a formal part of this suffix. In that case no. 36 *-(x')SEXLA* may be considered as a compound of *-(x')SEQ* and *-x'LA*, ON TOP, (no. 46); H. *-sxlāqa*.  
*p!eltSEQla'*, to fly across a mountain  
*dūx'SEQla'*, to jump over C 164.15  
*t!ēpSEQla'*, to step over R 1107. 58
38. (27, p. 465) *-ts!ā*, IN [STEM-S.] (< *-ts!ua*); H. *-ts!ua*  
*māts!ā*, fish inside (i. e. in trap) III  
 184.18  
*ēme'ts!ā*, white inside.
39. (28, p. 465) *-be(a)*, INTO A HOLE [STEM-S.]; H. *-pi(a)*
40. (28a, p. 465) *-pōl*, INTO A HOLE (Koskimo dialect) [STEM-S.]
41. (29, p. 466) = *abo*- UNDER [STEM-S.]; H. = *aboa*
42. *-elal(ēla)*, UP ABOVE [STEM-S.]; H. *-lal(a)*  
*g'ā'lalēla*, to be above  
*āxelā'lēla*, to be above  
*k'atēlā'lēla*, long thing is above  
*pāqelā'lēla*, flat thing is above  
*tlāqalā'lēla*, round thing is above  
*hānā'lalēla*, box is above  
*mEXelā'lēlas*, place where boxes are above R 689. 43
43. *-(x')sta*, DOWN TO GROUND [STEM-S.]; H. *-(k')st(a)*, *-(x')st(a)*.  
*lā'x'sta'it*, to fall down to floor  
*kūx'sta'it*, » » » »  
*nēp'sta'it*, to throw down to floor  
*dzoX'sta'it*, to throw a person down to floor  
*ts!EXstā'lila*, to throw a person down to floor (in wrestling)  
*ēmō'siā'g'alit*, to put down on floor

44. (30, p. 466) = (x')*lā*, ON TOP OF A LONG STANDING OBJECT [STEM-S.]; it may lose x after m, n, l; H. -*xtu(a)*.
45. (31, p. 466) -*b(a)*, END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-S.]; H. -*ba*.
46. (32, p. 467) -(x')*L(a)*, ON TOP OF A ROUNDED OBJECT [STEM-S.]. This suffix has the specific meaning ON THE FLAMES OF THE FIRE AND NAMED; H. -(x')*L(a)*.
47. = *t<sup>ε</sup>EN<sup>ε</sup>*, LINE [STEM-S.]  
*mā'g'<sup>it</sup>EN<sup>ε</sup>*, close to a line; snake crawling along on a log (line)  
*xū'ldet<sup>ε</sup>EN<sup>ε</sup>*, to mark along a line  
 R 65. 9
48. (33, p. 467) -(E)*nx*, EDGE [STEM-S.]; H. -(E)*nx*  
 (34, p. 467). This is not a suffix. The example given is correctly *qād<sup>ε</sup>EN<sup>ε</sup>ad<sup>ε</sup>endāla*, to walk alongside of a long thing; see no. 22)
49. (35, p. 467) = *d<sup>z</sup>ō*, ON A FLAT OBJECT [STEM-S.]; H. -*d<sup>z</sup>ua*
50. (36, p. 468) = (g'<sup>ε</sup>)*g'(a)*, INSIDE OF A HOLLOW OBJECT [STEM-S.]; H. -(k')*g'(a)*
51. (36a, p. 468) = *nūt<sup>g</sup>'a*, HOLLOW SIDE [STEM-S.]; compounded of = *nuL* (no. 22) and -*g'a*, no. 50; H. -*nut<sup>g</sup>'a*
52. (38, p. 469) -(k')*E<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>ε</sup>*, TOP OF A BOX [STEM-S.]; H. -(k')*E<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>ε</sup>(a)*  
*klwā'k'E<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>ε</sup>*, seat on top X155. 23  
*wē'k'E<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>ε</sup>* not full  
*εnemā'k'E<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>ε</sup>*, level with top  
*nā'sE<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>int</sup>*, to cover top  
*lepE<sup>ε</sup>y<sup>int</sup>ndala*, to spread over top  
*gE<sup>ε</sup>lxkwō<sup>ε</sup>ent*, to lift top of box
53. (39, p. 470) -(ε<sup>s</sup>)*l(a)*, WATER [STEM-S.] and WORD-S.]; loses initial ε<sup>s</sup> after t; H. -(ε<sup>s</sup>)-*la*.  
*a'hta*, fresh water R 308. 7  
 Used to express a number eating out of one dish.  
*ma<sup>ε</sup>hta* two eat out of one dish.
54. (40, p. 470) -*sqwap*, -*qwap* (Koskimo dialect) FIRE [STEM-S.]  
*qlēqwap*, much fire (Koskimo)
55. (41, p. 470) -*wāla* (after n, m, and vowels), -*āla* (after all other consonants); STATIONARY ON WATER [STEM-S.]  
 After -*g'<sup>it</sup>*- (no. 306) the suffix has the form -*iala*.  
 56. H. -*ε*, STATIONARY ON WATER  
 57. (42, p. 471) -*l<sup>ε</sup>*, MOVING ON WATER [STEM-S.]; H. -(k')*l<sup>ε</sup>*
58. = *ama(la)*, TO MOVE IN WATER [STEM-S.]  
*qā'yamala*, to walk in water  
*nā'g'amala*, to move straight in water  
*d<sup>z</sup>ē'lwamala*, to run in water  
*nā'nāmala*, snow floats in water.
59. -*amak'a*, IN WATER, UNDER THE SURFACE [STEM-S.]  
*nā'namak'a*, snow in water C 22. 16  
*a'alkwamak'a*, yellowish skum on water; blood of seals in water  
*εyā'syak'amak'*, dirt (bad things in water near surface  
*tsatselxamak'a*, hail floating in water  
*g.ēsamak'a*, jelly-fish (slippery in water)
60. (43, p. 471) -*la*, ON ROCKS [STEM-S.]; H. = -*la*.
61. (44, p. 472) -*ls*, ON GROUND [STEM-S.]; H. -*ls*
62. (45, p. 472) = *ēs*, = *is*, BOTTOM OF WATER, BEACH [STEM-S.]; H. = *is*
63. (46, p. 473) = *il*, ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE, IN THE HOUSE [STEM-S.]; H. = *il*.
64. (47, p. 474) = *ēL*, INTO HOUSE [STEM-S.]; H. = *il*.
65. -*lis(ēla)*, SHOREWARD [STEM-S.]
66. (47a, p. 475) = *ēlēlēla*, SHOREWARD [STEM-S.], a compound of nos. 64, 62, and 134.
67. (48, p. 474) = *x<sup>s</sup>*, IN CANOE [STEM-S.]; H. -*x<sup>s</sup>*
68. -(g')*ās*, ON ROOF [STEM-S.]; H. -(x')*līa's*.

69. (49)  
 BRA  
 [ST  
 70. (50)  
 [ST  
 71. (51)  
 72. (52)  
 HO  
 73. (53)  
 74. H.  
 75. (54)  
 [ST  
 OF  
 an  
 -g  
 The  
 be  
 KI  
 FR  
 76. (55)  
 -g  
 77. (56)  
 po  
 78. (57)  
 -l  
 79. (58)  
 80. (59)  
 CA  
 Wh  
 it  
 th  
 81. (60)  
 82. -  
 su  
 n

*klwā'g'ās*, to sit on roof

*ō'gwās*, roof

*E'lgwās*, ballast (stones) on roof.

69. (49, p. 474 ; 76, p. 482) = *xLō*, IN THE BRANCHES OF A TREE ; HAIR OF BODY [STEM-S.]; H. *-xLaw(a)*.
70. (50, p. 474) *-(x')siu*, MOUTH OF RIVER [STEM-S.]
71. (50, p. 474) *-(g')āg-* SIDE, BANK OF RIVER [STEM-S.]; H. *-k'āx'sē*
72. (52, p. 475) = *xšēg'*, OUTSIDE FRONT OF HOUSE [STEM-S.]; H. *-xšē*
73. (53, p. 475) = *xLā*, ON HEAD [STEM-S.]
74. H. *-qē*, ON HEAD [STEM-S.]
75. (54, p. 475, 7 a, p. 459) *-g.Em*, face [STEM-S.]; also with the meaning, IN FRONT OF, retains *g.* after vowels, *l*, *n*, *m* and all glottalized (fortis) consonants; H. *-g.Em*.

The suffix *-(g.)amē* (old no. 7a, p. 459) belongs here. The meaning FIRST OF ITS KIND, is probably literally STANDING IN FRONT (OF THE FACE).

*g'ig.āmē*, chief (< *g'iq-(g.)amē*)

76. (54 a, p. 476) *-g.Eml*, mask [STEM-S.]; H. *-g.Eml*
77. (54 b, p. 476) = *nulem*, [STEM-S.]; compound of = *nul*, no. 22, *-(g.)Em*. no. 75; H. = *nulm(ē)*, CHEEKS.
78. (55, p. 476) *-!Em<sup>ε</sup>ya*, CHEEK [STEM-S.]; H. *-!Em<sup>ε</sup>ya*
79. (56, p. 476) *-!ōs*, CHEEK [STEM-S.]
80. (57, p. 476) *-(g')iu*, FOREHEAD, BOW OF CANOE, AHEAD, IN FRONT OF [STEM-S.]; H. *-(g')iw(a)*

When used with the meaning bow of canoe, it does not lose initial *g'* which is also in this case not labialized after preceding *u* vowel.

81. (58, p. 477) = *atō*, EAR [STEM-S.]; H. *-ato*
82. *-!a*, with reduplication of first syllable and substitution of *s* for the final stem consonant of the reduplicated syllable, EAR.

*mō'smek!wa*, tied to ear

*mō'sma<sup>ε</sup>la*, woolen ear ornament

*iē'steklwa*, to hang from ears

*ē'saisla*, abalone ear ornament

*as<sup>ε</sup>al.lā'laa*, dentalia ear ornament

83. (59, p. 477) *-(<sup>ε</sup>ε)lō*, EYE, DOOR, ROUND OPENING, TRAIL [STEM-S.]; H. *-(s)lō*. = *etto*, TRAIL [STEM-S.]
84. (60, p. 478) = *ib(a)*, NOSE, POINT OF LAND [STEM-S.]; compound of *-ba*, POINT OF HORIZONTAL OBJECT, no. 45; H. = *ib(a)*
85. (61, p. 478) = *Exs(a)*, MOUTH, OUTWARD OPENING [STEM-S.]; H. *-(x')(a)*
86. (62, p. 478) *-(s)x'a*, TOOTH [STEM-S.]; H. *-!(x')s<sup>ε</sup>ya*
87. (63, p. 479) *-!xō*, NECK [STEM-S.]; H. *-!xaw(a)*
88. (63 a, p. 479) = *il.lxō*, IN MOUTH [STEM-S.]; compound of = *el*, INTO HOUSE, no. 64, and *-!xō*, no. 87; H. = *il.lxaw(a)*
89. (64, p. 479) = *ndzem*, THROAT [STEM-S.]; perhaps related to *-ns*, no. 35.
90. (65, p. 479) *-āp!*, when followed by accent *-ip!*, OCCIPUT, FOLLOWING, BEHIND, [STEMS-S.]; H. *-!ap!*
91. H. *-sk<sup>ε</sup>Enē*, BACK OF NECK [STEM-S.]
92. H. *-xaina*, SHOULDER [STEM-S.]
93. (66, p. 480) *-(x')siāp!* ARM ABOVE ELBOW [STEM-S.], related to no. 90, H. *-(x')siāp!*, ARM FROM SHOULDER-JOINT TO WRIST.
94. (67, p. 480) *-(x')tslāna*, HAND [STEM-S.], after short vowels *-tislāna*, also *hēk!lōt-tslāna*, RIGHT HAND (*hēk!lōt-(x')tslāna*); H. *-sk<sup>ε</sup>lāna*
95. (68, p. 480); *-!pe(-!a)*; *-!bō*, CHEST [STEM-S.]; H. *-!ābō*
- iē'klūpela*, to hang from chest R 208.10
96. (69, p. 480) = *ēk'ila*, = *ēg'ē<sup>ε</sup>*, BACK, AFTERWARDS [STEM-S.]; H. = *ik'ila*, = *ig'ē<sup>ε</sup>*, generally compounded with *-sg.Em*, no. 117 as *-sg.Em<sup>ε</sup>mik'ila*, *-sg.Em<sup>ε</sup>mīg'ē<sup>ε</sup>*
- Also used to express age
- yū'dux<sup>ε</sup>āxsēk'ila*, three days old (yū-

- dux<sup>a</sup>*, three; *-xs(a)*, flat thing; *-k'ila*, on back)  
*ma:itsem<sup>k</sup>'ila*, two months old (*ma:it*, two; *-sem*, round things, no. 117; *-k'ila*)  
*yū'dux:ün<sup>e</sup>xek'ila*, three years (seasons) old (*-<sup>e</sup>ux*, year, no. 278)
97. *-(x')dz<sup>a</sup>mo(la)*, IN FRONT OF BODY [STEM-S.]  
*k'ax'dza<sup>a</sup>mōla*, to put dish in front of a person  
*lep'dza<sup>a</sup>mōlii*, to spread a mat on floor in front of a person
98. (70, p. 481) *-k'!ilg.a*, FRONT OF BODY [STEM-S.]
99. (71, p. 481) = *aq* CROTCH [STEM-S.]; H. = *aq*
100. (72, p. 481) *-saqo*, PENIS [STEM-S.]; H. *-sqo*
101. (73, p. 481) *-(x')p!ēg<sup>a</sup>(a)*, THIGH [STEM-S.], containing *-g<sup>a</sup>*, INSIDE, no. 50; H. *-plēg<sup>a</sup>*, shin.
102. (74, p. 481) *-k'āx'ē<sup>e</sup>*, KNEE [STEM-S.]
103. H. *-(x)iam<sup>e</sup>w(a)*, KNEE [STEM-S.]
104. (75, p. 482) *-(x')sis*, *-(x')sidzē<sup>e</sup>*, foot [STEM-S.]; H. *-(x')sidz(a)*
105. (77, p. 482) *-q!ēg.ē<sup>e</sup>*, INSIDE OF A SOLID OBJECT, MEAT [STEM-S.]; derived from *-lg.ē<sup>e</sup>*, among, no. 8  
*wiyō'q!ūg.ē<sup>e</sup>*, what is inside, V 490.13  
*ax<sup>e</sup>ag.ē<sup>e</sup>*, to put inside of a body
106. (78, p. 482) = *is*, IN BODY [STEM-S.]; H. = *is*
107. (78 a, p. 482) *-lis*, IN THE BODY [STEM-S.], see also *-k'!is*, TO EAT, no. 161; H. *-lis* *g'!llis*, with a long belly  
*ts!ek!wis*, with a short belly  
*emek!wi'sela*, to have a round thing on belly
108. (78 a, p. 482) *-k'!aēs* BELLY [STEM-S.]  
*emmk'!aēs*, one down in belly (= swallowed) (not *emmk'!ēs*, as on page 482).  
*sā'k'!aēdzē<sup>e</sup>*, belly band
109. (79, p. 482) *-(g<sup>a</sup>)it*, BODY [STEM-S., sometimes WORD-S.]; H. *-(g<sup>a</sup>)it*
110. = *dēg*, IN BODY [STEM-S.]  
*mēng'edēg*, slime of body C. 142.21  
*e!lgūdēg*, blood in body  
*ya'g'idēg*, intestines in body
111. (80, p. 483) *-(k')!in*, BODY OF A LONG OBJECT, CONSISTING OF [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; H. *-(k')!in*, BODY OF A LONG OBJECT, not with the meaning CONSISTING OF.
112. (81, p. 483) *-lēq-* IN THE MIND [STEM-S.], often with expansion of the stem; H. *-lēq-*
113. *-lak<sup>a</sup>*, DISPOSITIONED [STEM-S.] with stem expansion; H. *-k'a*  
*ōdzēg.emak<sup>a</sup>*, of jealous disposition  
*eyi<sup>e</sup>yē'k'!ilg'lak<sup>a</sup>*, quick tempered  
*ai'k'!ēqa<sup>a</sup>lak<sup>a</sup>*, of happy disposition  
*la<sup>e</sup>wits!ak<sup>a</sup>*, of angry disposition  
*ai'x<sup>e</sup>ak<sup>a</sup>*, of kindly, willing disposition.
114. (82, p. 484) *-ōk<sup>a</sup>*, HUMAN BEINGS [STEM-S.]; used principally with definite and indefinite numerals; H. *-ōk<sup>a</sup>* with numerals in unclassified count and for human beings.
115. 83, p. 484) *-xs(a)*, FLAT OBJECTS (with numerals), [STEM-S.]; H. *-xs(a)*.
116. (84, p. 484) *-ts!aq*, LONG OBJECTS (with numerals) [STEM-S.]; H. *-ts!aq*.
117. (85, p. 484) *-sg.em*, ROUND SURFACE, ROUND OBJECTS [STEM-S.]; loses *g*. after consonants, except after *l, n, m*; undoubtedly related to *-g.em*, FACE, no. 75. It signifies ROUND OBJECT in connection with numerals; H. *sg.em*. Also H. *-sg.emala*, BUNDLES (with numerals).
118. *-sg.e<sup>e</sup>mak<sup>a</sup>*, TRIBE [STEM-S.], *-sg.emak'!ūs*. TRIBAL DIVISION, i. e. TRIBE OF A PLACE, derived from the preceding; H. *-sg.e<sup>e</sup>ma*.
119. (85 a, p. 485) *-dēn*, FINGER-WIDTH [STEM-S.], with numerals
120. (85 b, p. 485) *-(p!en)xwa<sup>e</sup>s*, DAY [WORD-

- s.], with numerals; H.  $-(p!en\acute{e})x\acute{u}ls$ , see no. 303
121.  $-(p!en)k'$ , FATHOM, SPAN [WORD-S.]; H.  $-(p!en)k'$ . See no. 303.
122. =  $d\acute{z}eq$ , HOLE [STEM-S.], with numerals; H.  $-!sx$  [STEM-S. WORD-S.]  
 $q!e'd\acute{z}eq$ , many holes
123.  $-x'sayuk'$ , BUNDLE [STEM-S.], with numerals  
 $\acute{e}nemx'sayuk'$ , one bundle  
 $q!e'x'sayuk'$ , many bundles
124.  $-(x)d\acute{z}ek\acute{u}la$ ,  $-(x')d\acute{z}eq\acute{e}na'k\acute{u}la$ , LAYERS [STEM-S.], with numerals. H.  $-x'sk\acute{u}la$ .
125.  $-xl\acute{e}$ , DISH [STEM-S.], with numerals; H.  $-x!a$
126. (86, p. 485)  $-ut$ , REMOTE PAST [STEM-S., WORD-S.], sometimes =  $ut$ ; H.  $-aut$
127. =  $ayag'ot$ , TO HAVE BEEN; derived from no. 129.  
 $y!kw\acute{u}layag'ot$ , one who has had twin children R 616.53
128.  $-ayadz\acute{e}wat$ , REMOTE PAST  
 $layadz\acute{e}wat\acute{e}n$ , long ago I went  
 $l\acute{e}q!enoxwayadz\acute{e}wat$ , a dead canoe builder R 616.53  
 $g'ox'd\acute{e}msayadz\acute{e}wat$ , a former village site
129. H.  $-g\acute{o}t$ , MODERATELY REMOTE PAST; with  $-x'd$ , no. 132, THE LATE, THE DECEASED, and MADE OF.
130. (87, p. 486)  $-(x')id$ , RECENT PAST [STEM-S.]
131. (88, p. 486)  $-l$ , FUTURE [WORD-S.]; H.  $-l$ .
132. (89, p. 486)  $-(x')d\acute{e}$ , transition from existence to non-existence [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; with names, THE LATE, THE DECEASED, A FORMER; H.  $-x'd(\acute{e})$ , what was here, but is no longer present;  $-x'd\acute{e}a$ , THE LATE, THE DECEASED, THE FORMER.
133. (90, p. 486)  $-(x')id$  inchoative [STEM-S.]; after glottalized consonants (fortis) the  $x'$  is retained;  $p$  and  $t$  preceding this suffix are glottalized;  $l$  and  $k$  stops are aspirated. H.  $-(x')id$ ;  $p$  preceding this suffix becomes  $m$ ;  $t$  becomes  $t$ ; the  $(x')$  is dropped as in Kwakiutl
134. (91, p. 488)  $-l(a)$ , CONTINUATIVE [STEM-S.]; H.  $-l(a)$
135. (92, p. 489)  $-ata$ , CONTINUED POSITION [STEM-S.]; H.  $-atla$ .  $-x'idata$ , a compound of nos. 133 and 135 with numerals signifies KINDS.
136. (93, p. 489)  $-ot(ela)$ , CONTINUED MOTION in a certain direction [STEM-S.]  
 $g\acute{o}t\acute{e}la$ , to go down river C 24.9
137. (94, p. 490) =  $\acute{e}nak\acute{u}(la)$ , GRADUAL MOTION, ONE AFTER ANOTHER [STEM-S.] H. =  $\acute{e}nak\acute{u}(la)$
138. =  $\acute{e}lix'(la)$ , TO APPROACH, TO DO NEARLY [STEM-S.]  
 $d\acute{e}nd\acute{e}lix'ila$ , to quarrel, to be near quarreling  
 $d\acute{z}ag.w\acute{e}lix'ila$ , it gets towards evening.
139.  $-(x')da\acute{e}leg(ata)$ , =  $\acute{e}leg(ata)$  A DIMINUTION OF QUALITY [STEM-S.], related to no. 138.  
 $\acute{e}m\acute{e}lx'da\acute{e}legata$ , whitish R 285.81  
 $\acute{t}enx\acute{d}a\acute{e}legata$ , greenish  
 $!lax'da\acute{e}legata$ , reddish  
 $!lag.w\acute{e}legata$ , red in morning
140. =  $!ela$ , TO BE ON THE WAY, INTENDING TO DO SOMETHING [STEM-S.]; H.  $-!la$ .  
 $ha'm\acute{d}\acute{z}e!ela$ , to be on the way to go to pick berries  
 $l\acute{e}g.\acute{u}!ela$ , to be on the way to build a canoe  
 $d\acute{z}\acute{e}g'!ela$ , to be on the way to dig clams  
 $!l\acute{e}lts!ela$ , to be on the way to pick viburnum berries  
 $w\acute{a}g'!ela$ , to be on the way to catch salmon in river
141. (95, p. 490)  $-naxw(a)$  SOMETIMES [WORD-S.]; H.  $-naxwa$
142. (96, p. 490)  $-(g'a)\acute{e}alela$ , SUDDENLY [STEM-S.]; H.  $-\acute{e}alela$

143. (97, p. 490)  $-(x)l\acute{a}t$ , TO DO SOMETHING WHILE WALKING [STEM-S.]; H.  $-(x)tu(a)$
144.  $-an\acute{o}ma$ , TO COME TO—[STEM-S.]; H.  $-an\acute{e}ma$   
*s\acute{e}xwan\acute{o}ma*, to come to paddle  
*denxan\acute{o}ma*, to come to sing
145.  $-d\acute{e}g$ , ALL THE WAY [STEM-S.]; used with reduplication  
*qaq\acute{a}'sd\acute{e}g*, to walk all the way  
*s\acute{e}s\acute{e}'x"d\acute{e}g*, to paddle all the way  
*g.\acute{a}g.E'lxd\acute{e}g*, to swim all the way  
*pl\acute{a}td\acute{e}g*, to fly all the way  
*g'ig'f'lx'd\acute{e}g*, to crawl all the way
146. H.  $-x's\acute{o}k\acute{u}la$ , A WHILE LONGER, MORE INTENSELY [WORD-S.]
147. H. = *ota*, ALL THE WAY [STEM-S.] See no. 136.
148. (142 b, p. 498)  $-s\acute{a}la$ , DESERTED [STEM-S.]; H.  $-s\acute{w}ya$ .  
*k!was\acute{e}d'la*, to sit deserted on ground  
*k!wa\acute{e}t\acute{s}\acute{a}la*, to sit deserted in house  
*klwaa\acute{s}y\acute{a}la*, to sit deserted on rock.
- The form  $-s\acute{e}la$  given in 142 b, p. 498 contains the suffix  $-ls$ , on the ground.
149. (142 c, p. 499)  $-(g).\acute{o}$ , TO MEET [STEM-S.]; used with expansion of stem; H.  $-(g).\acute{o}$ .
150. (139, p. 497)  $-l\acute{x}st$ , TO DESIRE [STEM-S.]; H.  $-l\acute{x}sta$
151.  $-ogwit$ , TO INTEND [STEM-S.]  
*g'\acute{a}xogwit*, to intend to come  
*\acute{e}n\acute{e}'k'ogwit*, to desire  
*denxogwit*, to intend to sing
152. (141, p. 498)  $-la$ , TO ENDEAVOR, TO TRY [STEM-S.]; always with reduplication with *a* vowel. Terminal *s* of stem behaves irregularly and changes often to  $\acute{e}y$  instead of *ts*!  
*\acute{o}'q'l\acute{u}s*, to believe *a\acute{o}'q'l\acute{u}'ya*, to try to —  
*pl\acute{e}sa'*, to flatten *pl\acute{a}'pl\acute{a}'ya*, to try to —  
*a\acute{w}\acute{e}'lx'is* plain *a\acute{w}\acute{e}'lx'\acute{e}'ya*, to try to show plainly  
*q\acute{a}'sa* to walk *q\acute{a}'qats!a* and *q\acute{a}'qa'ya*, to try to walk

Irregularities are found in H. also.

The suffix is also used with apparently nominal stems with the meaning, TO TRY TO GET.

153. (no. 144, p. 499)  $-(k')l\acute{a}la$ , CONTINUED NOISE, CONTINUED ACTION WITH THE VOICE [STEM-S., rarely WORD-S.]; H.  $-(k')l\acute{a}la$
154. (144 a, p. 500)  $-l\acute{a}la$ , to persuade to [STEM-S.]
155. (145, p. 500)  $-(k')(i)g'a\acute{e}t$ , TO BEGIN A NOISE, TO BEGIN WITH THE VOICE [STEM-S.]; H.  $(k')(i)g'a\acute{e}t$
156. (146, p. 500)  $-xa$ , TO SAY [WORD-S.]; H.  $-xa$   
*amaqax\acute{e}n\acute{e}*, the saying of "sham-fight" R 1056.59  
*l\acute{e}ns h\acute{a}mx'\acute{e}id\acute{x}ase'wa*, we are told to eat
157. H.  $-k'$ - TO SAY [WORD-S.]
158. (147, p. 500)  $-d\acute{z}aqw(a)$ , TO SPEAK [STEM-S.]; H.  $-d\acute{z}aqw(a)$ .
159.  $-siw\acute{e}z$ , TO FORCE [STEM-S.]  
*h\acute{a}nts\acute{i}w\acute{e}z*, to force to shoot  
*y\acute{a}'q'leg'a\acute{t}siw\acute{e}z*, to force to speak
160. (148, p. 500)  $-q!a$ , TO FEEL [STEM-S.]; H.  $-q!a$
161. (149, p. 501, 78 a, p. 482)  $-q!es$ ,  $-k'!is$ , TO EAT [STEM-S.]; H.  $-q!as$ ,  $-k'!is$   
*q!ek'!is*, to eat many C 224.19  
*h\acute{e}llak!is*, to eat enough C 224.2  
*l\acute{a}'k'!is*, to swallow  
*\acute{e}n\acute{e}'mk'!is*, to eat one
162. (149 a, p. 501)  $-g'$ , TO EAT [WORD-S., STEM-S.]; always with reduplicated stem.  
H.  $-k'a$
163. (150, p. 501)  $-pla$ , TO TASTE [STEM-S.];  $-pl\acute{a}la$  TO SMELL [STEM-S.]; H.  $-pla$ ,  $pl\acute{a}la$
164. (151, p. 501) =  $(a)k'(a)$ , TO HAPPEN [STEM-S.]; H. =  $ak'(a)$
165.  $-g'aa$ , TO ARRIVE [STEM-S.], not quite free; H.  $-k'a$

- hē'g'aa*, to go straight to that (near 3rd person)  
*yā'gwaa*, to go straight to that (near 2nd person)  
*hē'lg'aa*, to arrive in one day (literally, rightly)  
*lā'g'aa*, to arrive  
*q'ē'g'aa*, too many arrive C 226. 10
166. (152, p. 501) -*ālisem*, TO DIE OF [STEM-S.]; H. *ālisem*, THE NEAR PAST with the implication that some something happened at or after that time; TO DIE OF
167. (153, p. 501) -*sdana*, TO DIE BY [STEM-S.]  
*ālanemsdana*, to be killed by a wolf. (154, p. 501) is no suffix; the stem *wits!* means NOT TO BE ABLE TO REACH, corresponding to *hētts!* TO BE ABLE TO REACH.
168. (155, p. 502) -*plattō*, WITH THE EYES [STEM-S.]; H. -*plasto*
169. -*q!es*, BACK AND FORTH [WORD-S.]; with expansion of stem; H. -*q!ās(ēla)*  
*sāk'aq!es*, to spear back and forth  
*hā'nlaq!es*, to shoot back and forth  
*nāpaq!es*, to throw stones back and forth
170. =*ē'nō*, TO DO TO ONE PASSING BY [STEM-S.]  
*yā'q'landēno*, to talk to people passing by  
*menē'eno*, to strike with fist one passing by  
*nebē'eno*, to throw stone at one passing by  
*hā'nalēno*, to shoot one passing by (name of ancestor of a division of the Kwakiutl).
171. (156, p. 502) -*ap!(a)*, EACH OTHER, ONE ANOTHER [STEM-S.], with expansion of stem.
172. H. -*emt!a*, EACH OTHER; [STEM-S.]
173. (157, p. 502) -*ā(la)*, -*āx:wit!*, EACH OTHER, JOINTLY, TOGETHER [STEM-S.]; H. -(s)-*wā(la)*
174. -*anaēsa*, -*aēšela*, -*anag.a*, TO EACH ONE IN ORDER [STEM-S.]  
 a. *yāqwanaēsa*, to distribute among all in order  
*ts!ā'wanaēsa*, to give to each in order  
*hā'lanāēsa*, to do quickly to each in order  
 b. *ēyāqwaēšela*, to distribute among all in order  
*ts!awaēšela*, to give to each in order  
 R 720.43  
 c. *ts!awā'nag.em*, to be given to each in order among R 690.80
175. H. -*g.ēs*, AGAINST EACH OTHER [STEM-S., WORD-S.]
176. -*menqūla*, SOME [WORD-S.]  
*hāmsamenqūla*, some are eating  
*qasamenqūla*, some are walking
177. (158, p. 503) -*amas*, TO CAUSE [WORD-S.]; H. -*mas*.
178. (159, p. 503) = *t*, PASSIVE of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [STEM-S.]; H. -*t*
179. (159, p. 503) —so<sup>s</sup>, passive
180. (130, p. 496) -*nē'sl*, OH, IF! [WORD-S.]
181. H. -(x')*silē*, OH, IF! [WORD-S.]
182. (131, p. 496) -*x'*, EXHORTATIVE [WORD-S.]; H. -*x's*, EXHORTATIVE and IMPERATIVE.
183. (98, p. 491) -*xaa*, ALSO, ON THE OTHER HAND [WORD-S.]; H. -*xa*.
184. (99, p. 491) -*x'sā*, STILL, ENTIRELY [WORD-S.]; H. -*x'tqē(la)*
185. (99 a, p. 491; 123, p. 495) -*qlā(la)*, EMPHATIC; sometimes translated by INDEED, ENTIRELY; generally by JUST; H. -*q!ā(la)*  
*yūq'lālaem*, indeed, it is he (near you)  
*yūq'lāem*, indeed, it is he (near you)  
 R 189.7
186. (100, p. 491) (-*lag'il*), IN THE MEAN TIME [WORD-S.], doubtful.
187. (101, p. 491) -*!la*, BUT [WORD-S.]; H. -*!la*.

- Often with *-xa* in the form *-aʔ!a*; H. *-xaʔ!a*.
188. (102, p. 491) *-la*, BUT [WORD-S.]; H. *-la*. *la* expresses an event that, although not necessary, might have been expected; *-!a* an event entirely unexpected and of improbable occurrence.
189. (103, p. 492) *-sm*, indicates that the subject of the discourse has been referred to or thought of before. H. *-sm*.
190. (104, p. 492) *-wis*, AND SO, expresses a weak causal connection [WORD-S.]; generally compounded with *-sm*, no. 189, but separated from it by *-ela*, IT IS SAID, and similar suffixes.  
(117, p. 494) *-wist!a*, VERY, a compound of no. 190 and 187.
191. (105, p. 492) *-lax*, POTENTIALITY [WORD-S.], used in conditional sentences; H. *-lax*
192. (106, p. 492) *-āna*, PERHAPS [WORD-S.]
193. (107, p. 492) *-g'anem*, PERHAPS [WORD-S.]; H. *-g'anem*
194. (108, p. 492) *-k'as*, REALLY [WORD-S.]: in Koskimo used very commonly, almost without specific meaning; also with nouns, REAL; in H. not free.
195. (115, p. 494) *-(x)lē*, UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS PITIFUL THAT [WORD-S.] H. *-xlē*, apparently not free.
196. (116, p. 494) *-x'lā*, VERY [WORD-S.]
197. H. *-x'si(la)*, VERY [WORD-S.]
198. H. *-k'īm*, VERY [WORD-S.]
199. *-k'in*, TOO MUCH [WORD-S.]; often with reduplication; H. *-k'in*  
*aʔyak'in*, too slow  
*aaik'in*, too good  
*qle'k'in*, *qlāqle'k'in*, too many  
*yāx'ak'in*, too quick
200. (118, p. 494) *-mā*, AT ONCE, WITHOUT HESITATION [WORD-S.]; used in the most southern dialect, the Lékwidā<sup>ex</sup>, with great frequency and almost without significance.
201. (119, p. 494) *-dʒd*, EMPHATIC [WORD-S.]; in H. not free.
202. *-lēma*, EASILY [STEM-S.]; with reduplication; H. *-lima*  
*ā'al.lēma*, easily 'broken  
*l!ē!l!aq!ēma*, easily broken  
*lē!la<sup>ex</sup>xēma*, easily pounded
203. (120, p. 494) *-k'inat*, NICELY [WORD-S.]
204. (121, p. 494) *-x'sala*, ANYWHERE, WITHOUT KNOWING THE OUTCOME OF AN ACTION [WORD-S.]; H. *-x'sala*  
*enēk'ax'sala*, to talk without consideration of the effects  
*lax'sāla*, to go without knowing what may happen C 12. 6; 16. 14  
*qā'seidex'sala*, to go without knowing what may happen C 16. 15  
The translation CARELESSLY no. 121, p. 494, covers only partly the idea conveyed by this suffix.
205. (122, p. 494) *-k'in(a)*, ACCIDENTALLY, TO HAVE AN ACCIDENT WHILE — [STEM-S.], with stem expansion; H. *-(k'i)nā(la)*  
*dā'dox<sup>ex</sup>kwinala*, to see accidentally  
*tātewēk'ināla*, to have an accident while goat hunting. C 28. 4
206. (125, p. 495) *-bōl(a)*, TO PRETEND TO — [WORD-S.]; H. *-bēla*
207. (126, p. 495) *-x'st!*, AS USUAL; *-x'st!aak<sup>ex</sup>* APPARENTLY, SEEMINGLY, IT SEEMS LIKE; in Koskimo also IN A DREAM; H. *-(x')-st!aauk<sup>ex</sup>*
208. (127, p. 495) *-qlanāk<sup>ex</sup>*, QUITE UNEXPECTEDLY [WORD-S.]
209. H. *-ixa*, UNEXPECTEDLY (?) [WORD-S.]
210. (128, p. 495) *-ēl*, ASTONISHING!, O WONDER! [WORD-S.]; H. *-ēl*
211. (129, p. 495) *-xōl*, ASTONISHING! O WONDER! [WORD-S.]; H. *-xāla*
212. (132, p. 496) *-ēl(a)*, IT IS SAID [WORD-S.]; H. *-ēl(a)*



213. (133, p. 496) *-sk<sup>a</sup>*, AS I TOLD YOU BEFORE [WORD-S.]; H. *-sk<sup>a</sup>*. The form *-emsk<sup>a</sup>* given in no. 133, p. 496 is a compound with *-<sup>a</sup>m* no. 189.
214. (134, p. 496) *-eng<sup>a</sup>*, IN A DREAM, TO DREAM THAT — [WORD-S.]; H. *-ng<sup>a</sup>*; see also no. 207.
215. (135, p. 496) *-xent*, EVIDENTLY [WORD-S.]; H. *-xent*
216. (108 a, p. 493) *-k<sup>a</sup>as<sup>o</sup>*, BEAUTIFUL [WORD-S.]; a compound of *-k<sup>a</sup>s*, no. 194 and *as<sup>o</sup>*, no. 225.
217. H. *-k<sup>a</sup>aau*, LARGE [WORD-S.]; a compound of *-k<sup>a</sup>* and *-<sup>a</sup>au*, *-<sup>a</sup>o*, no. 225.
218. (109, p. 493) = *ō<sup>et</sup>*, UGLY, AWKWARD [STEM-S.]  
*begō<sup>et</sup>*, an ugly man  
*g<sup>t</sup>i<sup>2</sup>nlō<sup>et</sup>* an ugly child  
*xwā<sup>a</sup>gō<sup>et</sup>*, an ugly canoe
219. H. *-plal*, UGLY [WORD-S.]
220. (110, p. 493) *-džē*, LARGE [WORD-S.]
221. (110a, p. 493) = *em*, DIMINUTIVE [STEM-S.]; always with reduplication with a vowel.
222. = *a<sup>a</sup>ma*, OLD AND USELESS [STEM-S.]  
*tsābā<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old apron  
*ledā<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old hat  
*q<sup>l</sup>ādžā<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old shirt  
*ma<sup>a</sup>g.wa<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old blanket  
*k<sup>l</sup>ōba<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old cedarbark blanket  
*pēlxa<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old blanket  
*qaxa<sup>a</sup>ma*, old trousers  
*g<sup>t</sup>lā<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old box  
*lexa<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old basket  
*xwā<sup>a</sup>gwa<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old canoe  
*g<sup>t</sup>ōgwa<sup>a</sup>ma*, an old house
223. (111, p. 493) *-lem*, GENUINE, REAL [STEM-S. and WORD-S.]; used with expansion of stem; not quite free.
224. (112, p. 493) *-bidō<sup>a</sup>*, SMALL, singular [WORD-S.]; with nouns and verbs; with verbs it signifies generally that a small person is concerned in the state or act expressed by the verb. The same is true
- of nos. 225 and 227. Koskimo *-bidžō<sup>a</sup>*. A compound of 225.
225. (114, p. 494) *-<sup>a</sup>ō*, SMALL, singular [WORD-S.], perhaps only in poetry; H. *-<sup>a</sup>o* in general use.
226. H. *-k<sup>a</sup>sla<sup>o</sup>*, SMALL, singular [WORD-S.] a compound of no. 225.
227. (113, p. 494) *-<sup>a</sup>menēx<sup>a</sup>*, SMALL, plural [WORD-S.]; H. *-<sup>a</sup>menēx<sup>a</sup>*
228. (136, p. 496) *-(g<sup>t</sup>)ila*, TO MAKE [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; H. *-(g<sup>t</sup>)ila*.  
 This suffix is used with a variety of specialized meanings.  
*a. TO TRAVEL TO — [STEM-S.]*  
*Awī<sup>t</sup>k<sup>l</sup>ila*, to go to the Awī<sup>t</sup>k<sup>l</sup>ēnox<sup>a</sup>  
*G.wa<sup>a</sup>yasila*, to go to G.wa<sup>a</sup>yasēms  
*G.ōsila* to go to the Koskimo  
*Na<sup>t</sup>kwila*, to go to the Nak<sup>l</sup>wax<sup>a</sup>da<sup>2</sup>x<sup>a</sup>  
*Hēldžaqwila*, to go to the Hēldžaq<sup>a</sup>  
*Tsāxisila*, to go to Tsaxis
- b. PERIOD OF TIME*  
*ma<sup>a</sup>lōkwila*, two periods of time.
229. (137, p. 497) *-(x<sup>t</sup>)sila*, TO TAKE CARE OF [STEM-S., WORD-S.], used with reduplication. H. *-(x<sup>t</sup>)sila*
230. (138, p. 497) *-lat*, TO DANCE [WORD-S.]; used with expansion of stem, H. *-lat*.
231. (140, p. 497) *-ōl*, TO OBTAIN [STEM-S.]; H. *-ōl*
232. (142, p. 498) *-yāla*, TO GO TO LOOK FOR [STEM-S.]; always with reduplication with a vowel; H. *-<sup>a</sup>yāla*.
233. (142 a, p. 498) *-<sup>a</sup>māla*, TO GO [STEM-S.]; H. *-<sup>a</sup>māla*
234. *-enē<sup>a</sup>* TO GO TO VISIT [WORD-S.] rarely stem-s.  
*wūq<sup>l</sup>wā<sup>a</sup>senē<sup>a</sup>*, to go to visit a sister  
*g.ā<sup>a</sup>g.asenē<sup>a</sup>*, » grand-mother  
*g.ā<sup>a</sup>g.empenē<sup>a</sup>*, » grand father  
*g<sup>t</sup>ōkīnē<sup>a</sup>*, » father-in-law  
 (lit. — house)  
*ā<sup>a</sup>senē<sup>a</sup>*, » father
235. *-laqā(la)*, TO TAKE ALONG [STEM-S.]; H. *-q*

- bām.laqāla*, to take a gun along  
*sōp.laqāla*, to take an adze along  
*g'ōs.laqāla*, to take food along  
*ba<sup>s</sup>.na'qāla*, to take a kettle along
236. *-wata(la)*, TO CARRY [STEM-S.]; H. *-watala*,  
 TO USE  
*k'a'swata'la*, to carry a spoon  
*sō'pwatala*, to carry an adze  
*hā'ntwata'la*, to carry a gun
237. *-nkiu(la)*, TO CARRY [STEM-S.]; H. *-nkūla*  
*wāx'senkūla*, *wāx'senx'wid*, to carry  
 in both hands  
*εwī<sup>s</sup>l<sup>s</sup>enkūla*, to carry all
238. *-qano*, TO HAVE A SUDDEN PAIN [WORD-S.];  
 H. *-qāno*  
*ha<sup>s</sup>.laqano*, to have a sudden pain  
*wāts!ānaqano*, to have a sudden pain  
 in the hands  
*g'ōyuyoqano*, to have a sudden pain  
 in the feet  
*a<sup>s</sup>wa'dgōxlēqano*, to have a sudden  
 pain in the small of the back.
239. (143, p. 499) *-ōstq!a*, TO USE, only with  
 definite and indefinite numerals; H.  
*-(s)lqa*
240. (161, p. 504) *-ē<sup>s</sup>*, = *ē<sup>s</sup>*, a nominalizing  
 suffix  
*k'a'le<sup>s</sup>*, painting (from *k'at-*, to paint)  
*xā'ē<sup>s</sup>*, what has been split (from *xā*,  
 to split)  
*nā'q!ag.ē<sup>s</sup>*, song leader (*nā!q!aqēla*, to  
 have a song leader among)  
*ts!E'lk'ig'ē<sup>s</sup>*, feather on back (*ts!E'lk'-*  
*ik'ila*, to have feathers on back)
241. (162, p. 504) *-lēnox<sup>m</sup>*, A PERSON WHO  
 DOES AN ACTION PROFESSIONALLY, OR WHO  
 CAN PERFORM AN ACTION; also used for  
 TRIBAL NAMES [STEM-S.]. H. *-lēnox<sup>m</sup>*; not  
 used for tribal names. For clan names in  
 the form *-!E<sup>m</sup>x<sup>m</sup>*
242. (162 a, p. 505), H. *-lēt<sup>x</sup>*, INHABITANT OF-,  
 used for tribal names [STEM-S.]
243. *-g'imūx<sup>m</sup>*, suffix for name of *G.osg'imūx<sup>m</sup>*  
 tribe; H. *-g'imix<sup>x</sup>*, suffix for name of the  
*K!watnag'imix<sup>x</sup>*. Possibly this suffix may  
 be of Salish origin. In Bella Coola the  
 suffix for tribal names is *-mx<sup>x</sup>* and the  
 same occurs as *-mix<sup>x</sup>*, *mēx<sup>m</sup>*, *-mēc*, *-pc* in  
 various Salish dialects. The traditions of  
 northern Vancouver Island suggest the  
 former presence of a foreign tribe in the  
 Koskimo territory.
244. = *l*, OF LOWER RANK [STEM-S.]  
*g'i'g'ig'el*, lower chiefs  
*begūlit*, people of a chief (literally,  
 lower rank men body)
245. (163, p. 505) *-bīs*, ADDICTED TO [STEM-S.,  
 WORD-S.]; H. *-ps*.
246. (164, p. 505) *-!ēs*, CAPABLE OF [STEM-S.];  
 used with expansion of stem; H. *-!ēs*.
247. (165, p. 505) = *Elk<sup>n</sup>*, HAVING THE HABIT  
 OF [STEM-S.]; H. = *Elk<sup>n</sup>*
248. (166, p. 505) *-elg'is*, ONE WHO DOES AN  
 ACT FOR OTHERS, ONE SERVING AS [STEM-S.,  
 WORD-S.]; H. *-Elk<sup>s</sup>*
249. H. *-inoā*, ONE WHO HAS THE FUNCTION OF  
*nēk'inoā*, one whose function it is to  
 speak  
*dzō'sinoā* » dig
250. (167, p. 506) *-ōt*, FELLOW [WORD-S.,  
 STEM-S.]; H. *-ōt*
251. (168, p. 506) *-mp*, RELATIONSHIP [STEM-S.];  
 H. *-m(p)*. The attachment of the suffix is  
 very irregular.  
*ōmp*, father (stem : *awas-*)  
*abē'mp*, mother (stem : *abās-*)  
*g'im<sup>p</sup>*, wife's sister (stem ; *g'ins-*)
252. (169, p. 506) *-nuk<sup>n</sup>*, HAVING [STEM-S.,  
 WORD-S.]; H. *-nuk<sup>n</sup>*
253. (170, p. 506) = *ad* HAVING [STEM-S.];  
 H. = *ad*
254. *-(ē)dzē<sup>s</sup>*, CHILD OF — [STEM-S., WORD-S.];  
 probably form *-lis-ē<sup>s</sup>*; see nos. 107 and  
 240.  
*g'i'q!ēdzē<sup>s</sup>*, child of a chief  
*hā'n!ēdzē<sup>s</sup>*, child of a hunter

- bāmlənox<sup>ε</sup>wədzē<sup>ε</sup>*, child of a hunter  
*alē<sup>ε</sup>winox<sup>ε</sup>wədzē<sup>ε</sup>*, child of a sea  
 hunter  
*bā'xūts!ədzē<sup>ε</sup>*, child of an uninitiated  
 person  
 Koskimo. -*ldzē*, child  
*ts!ədā'qlādzē<sup>ε</sup>*, daughter (literally ;  
 woman child)  
*bək!ū'dzē<sup>ε</sup>*, son (literally : man  
 child)
255. Koskimo. -*mēn*, YOUNG OF AN ANIMAL  
 [STEM-S.]  
*kū'nx<sup>ε</sup>mēn*, young otter  
*mā's<sup>ε</sup>mēn*, young racoon  
*ts!ax<sup>ε</sup>mēn*, young beaver  
*xū'mt<sup>ε</sup>mēn*, young land otter
256. -*ldzē<sup>ε</sup>*, NUMBER OF TIMES AN ACT HAS BEEN  
 PERFORMED.  
*bā'n!ladzē<sup>ε</sup>*, number of animals shot  
*εmā'dzē<sup>ε</sup>*, » potlatches  
 (ε*māxwa*) given  
*plē'dzē<sup>ε</sup>*, number of potlaches (*plēsa*)  
 given  
*qautē'ndzē<sup>ε</sup>*, number of marriage  
 gifts (*qautē'x'a*) given  
*klwēlats!ədzē<sup>ε</sup>*, number of feasts  
 given.  
 Also with a different meaning:  
*g'v'qlādzē<sup>ε</sup>*, a chief's act, referring to  
 a great potlatch given without  
 preparation.
257. (171, p. 507) -*lənē<sup>ε</sup>*, ABSTRACT NOUN  
 [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; H. -*lənē<sup>ε</sup>*
258. (172, p. 507) = *k<sup>n</sup>*, PASSIVE PAST PARTICIPLE  
 [STEM-S.]; H. -*k<sup>n</sup>*
259. (173, p. 507) = *em*, INSTRUMENT [STEM-S.];  
 H. = *em*.
260. (174, p. 507) — (*a*)*yu*, (*a*)*εyu*, INSTRUMENT  
 PASSIVE OF VERBS GOVERNING INSTRUMENTAL  
 [STEM-S.]; H. = *ayu*
261. (175, p. 508) = *ano*, INSTRUMENT [STEM-S.];  
 not free ; H. = *ano*, not free.
262. (176, p. 508) -*g'il*, REASON OF — [WORD-S.];  
 H. -*g'il*
263. = *u<sup>ε</sup>sō<sup>ε</sup>*, CAUSE [STEM-S.]  
*hau'g.u<sup>ε</sup>sō<sup>ε</sup>*, cause of vomiting  
*q!wayos<sup>ε</sup>sō*, cause of crying  
*yilgū<sup>ε</sup>sō<sup>ε</sup>n*, I am the cause of his  
 being hurt.
264. -*k'lim*, CAUSE (?) [WORD-S.]  
*laux<sup>ε</sup>k'lim*, something to make one  
 strong.  
*dē'dastōdk'lim*, cause of wiping eyes  
 R 603.18.
265. (178, p. 508) -(x)*lən*, WHAT INDUCES  
 ONE TO — [STEM-S.], probably not free.
266. H. -(a)*nex<sup>n</sup>*, OBTAINED BY [STEM-S WORD-S.]
267. (179, p. 508) = *anem*, OBTAINED BY —  
 [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; H. -(g)*anem*, GOODS  
 OR MONEY OBTAINED BY —
268. H. = *ament*, GOODS OR MONEY OBTAINED  
 BY — [STEM-S.]
269. (179, a, p. 509) -*inēt*, OBTAINED BY —  
 [STEM-S.]
270. (180, p. 509) = *ns*, OBTAINED BY FINDING  
 [STEM-S.]; used with expansion of stem ;  
 H. = *ns*, without expansion of stem.
271. (181, p. 509) -*mūl*, REFUSE, WHAT IS  
 LEFT OVER AFTER — [STEM-S.]; used  
 with reduplication ; H. -*mut*, without  
 reduplication.
272. (182, p. 509) = *ās*, PLACE OF [STEM-S.];  
 H. = *as*.
273. (183, p. 509) -*dēm<sup>ε</sup>*, PLACE ON GROUND  
 WHERE SOMETHING IS DONE HABITUALLY  
 [WORD-S.], compounded with -*s*, on  
 ground, no. 61.
274. 183a, p. 509) -*ē<sup>ε</sup>nak<sup>n</sup>*, COUNTRY LYING  
 IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION [STEM-S.], as a  
 verbal suffix found only in  
*nā<sup>ε</sup>nak<sup>n</sup>*, to go home (assimilated  
 from *lā<sup>ε</sup>nak<sup>n</sup>*) H. -*ē<sup>ε</sup>nak<sup>n</sup>*, TO GO  
 TO A CERTAIN PLACE.

275. =*xekü(la)*, PLACE WHERE THERE IS MUCH OF A KIND [STEM-S.]  
*mōdexekūla*, patch of balsam fir  
*!ēdžexekūla*, rocky place  
*awō'waxek!us*, place with coarse gravel (literally, place on the ground where there are many large ones).
276. (184, p. 510), = *ats!ē*, RECEPTACLE, [STEM-S.]; H. -*ats!ē*
277. (185, p. 510) -(*x'*)*dEM*, TIME FOR [STEM-S., WORD-S.]; H. -(*x'*)*dEM*.
278. (186, p. 510) -*enx*, -*x'enx*, SEASON YEAR; H. -*enx*.
279. (187, p. 510) = *alas* (or -*alas* ?), MATERIAL FOR — [STEM-S.]; H. = *alas* (or -*alas* ?)
280. (188, p. 510) -*džes* PIECE OF — [WORD-S.]  
 The form -*ts!ēs* given in no. 188, p. 510 as of doubtful occurrence does not exist.
281. -*džeswāla*, -*a'es yadžeswāla*, PIECE OF —, REMAINS OF — [WORD-S.]  
*xwā'klünadžeswāla*, piece of a canoe  
*!ēs'wās madžeswāla*, piece of an old mat  
*g'ōkwa'es yadžeswāla*, remains of a house  
*xwā'klünas yadžeswāla*, piece of a canoe
282. (188a, p. 510) -*esōē*, REMAINS OF — [STEM-S.]  
*ta'pesōē*, piece broken out
283. -*la'es yawē*, LEFT OVER BY [STEMS-S., WORD-S.]  
*k'!əts!a'es yawē*, left over by not —  
*x'ix'qlā'es yawē*, burnt out  
*enemō'kwa'es yawē*, one left over  
 C22.25  
*enemākwa'es yāla*, one left over among — C24.20  
 Here belongs probably also  
*semyak'awē*, left over after frying out oil.
284. -*s'ānal*, BODY PART, MAIN PART [STEM-S.]; H. -*st!āna*  
*q!waxs'ā'nal*, stock of a gun  
*x'ixs'ā'nal*, hull of a steamer  
*xwaxs'ā'nal*, body of a canoe  
*bux's'ā'nal*, trunk of body  
*g'ōx's'ā'nal*, framework of a house
285. (189, p. 510) -*mis*, USELESS PART, PLANT FROM WHICH SOMETHING USEFUL IS OBTAINED; H. -*bis*, NOT FREE; -*mas* NOT FREE.
286. (190, p. 510) -*plēq*, STICK, POLE, TREE [STEM-S.]; H. -*p!ēq*
287. (190 a, p. 511) = *aa'no*. ROPE, LINE [STEM-S.]; H. -*a'no*.  
 Irregular is *sEk!ad'ənō*, harpoon line
288. (190b, p. 511) -*manō*, FISH HEAD [STEM-S.]
289. -*x'sēs*, USED IN CONNECTION WITH — [STEM-S.], with reduplication.  
*k'!ā'k!ēlax'sēs*, paddle used when picking up sea eggs  
*pā'payax'sēs*, paddle used when fishing flounders  
*māmasēq!ūnx'sēs*, paddle used when gathering sea eggs.
290. (191, p. 511) -*asde*, MEAT, PARTICULARLY DRIED MEAT [STEM-S.]
291. (192, p. 511, -*g.(a)*), WOMAN [WORD-S.]; H. -*g.(a)*, NOT FREE.  
 Also *enemē'mag.as*, sister
292. -*laxsem*, WOMAN, WIFE OF — [WORD-S.]; H. -*laxsem*
293. H. -*aqs*, WOMAN [STEM-S.], NOT FREE; in Kwakiutl only in loan words.
294. (193, p. 511) -*em*, = *em*, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance; H. -*em*,
295. (193a, p. 511) -*nem*, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to no. 294 [STEM-S.]
296. (193b, p. 511) -*ānem*, irregular, probably designating classes of animate beings [STEM-S.]; H. -*ānem*

NO. I

297. (1936, p. 512) *-o!EM*, nominal suffix [STEM-S.]; H. *-o!EM*
298. (194, p. 512) *-lōma(s)*, *-lēma(s)* CLASSES OF OBJECTS, [STEM-S.]; H. *-!ima(s)*
299. (194a, p. 512) = *EN* nominal suffix [STEM-S.]
300. *-!ina* nominal suffix [STEM-S.]
301. *-a!ma*, a common suffix found in names of plants [STEM-S.] with reduplication with a vowel  
*k!āk!aqwa!ma*, *Chamaenerium spicatum* (Lam.) S. F. Gray  
*g.ā'g.ēx'a!ma*, *Galium Aporine* L.  
*g.wā'gulta!ma*, *Chamaerium angustifolium*  
*yā'yilqa!ma*, *Symphoricarpus racemosus* Michx.  
*k!āk'ēla!ma*, *Scirpus microcarpus* Prul.
302. *-(s)olē*, a suffix occurring in names of some plants  
*hābaxsole*, *Ribes echinatum*  
*k!ēsp!olē*, *Ribes laxiflorus*  
*l!ēq!ēxōlē*, *Distegia* (*Lonicera*) *involuta*  
*āx'sōlē*, *hellebore*
303. (195, p. 512) *-p!EN* TIMES [WORD-S.]; H. *-p!EN*
304. *-!Emk'a*, AT A TIME (with numerals) [WORD-S.]  
*q!ēts!aq!Emk'a*, many long ones at a time  
*hama'ts!aq!Emk'a*, two long ones at a time  
*yātyudux'is!aq!Emk'a*, three long ones at a time
305. (196, p. 512) *-EM-* the plural of all suffixes denoting space limitations seems to be formed by the suffix *-EM* which precedes the primary suffix; H. *-EM-*, apparently of wider use than in Kwakiutl and more sharply distinguished as distributive from the reduplicated forms.
306. (197, p. 512) *-g'it-* inchoative motion away from
307. (197, p. 512) *-g'aE!* inchoative motion towards
- The suffixes 306 and 307 appear always with terminal locatives; Examples for their use are:  
*dā'g'ilit*, to take up from floor  
*dā'g'aalit*, to put down on floor  
*dā'g'is* to take up from ground  
*dā'g'aE!*, to put down on ground  
*k!wā'g'ā'lāla*, to move sitting on rock  
*k!uā'g'aa!la*, to seat one's self on rock
308. *-ō-* (*-ā*, *-wā*) (124, p. 495) *-u* (37, p. 468), inchoative negation of a certain kind of motion. IN A WRONG MANNER, TO FAIL, TO MAKE A MISTAKE, OFF, with terminal *-a*, *-la*, etc.

The first of these was the...  
 and the second was the...  
 the third was the...  
 the fourth was the...  
 the fifth was the...  
 the sixth was the...  
 the seventh was the...  
 the eighth was the...  
 the ninth was the...  
 the tenth was the...  
 the eleventh was the...  
 the twelfth was the...  
 the thirteenth was the...  
 the fourteenth was the...  
 the fifteenth was the...  
 the sixteenth was the...  
 the seventeenth was the...  
 the eighteenth was the...  
 the nineteenth was the...  
 the twentieth was the...

the first of these was the...  
 the second was the...  
 the third was the...  
 the fourth was the...  
 the fifth was the...  
 the sixth was the...  
 the seventh was the...  
 the eighth was the...  
 the ninth was the...  
 the tenth was the...  
 the eleventh was the...  
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 the eighteenth was the...  
 the nineteenth was the...  
 the twentieth was the...

